

Zoometaphors in English, German, and Lithuanian: A Corpus Study

by

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Abstract
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The semantics/semiotics of animal metaphors used to characterize humans may properly be called *zoometaphors*, in analogy to the well-established field of *zoosemiotics*. The nature of the *metaphor* and the *zoometaphor* is discussed in Chapter 2. A metaphor conveys a meaning beyond the literal meaning, often in a subtle way; it can be a way of 'expressing the inexpressible' or 'saying the unsayable'. In a zoometaphor we can also see a speaker's attitude towards the person she/he is characterizing, which usually tends to be more negative than positive. This dissertation investigates the occurrence of metaphors in which animals represent humans. Taking geographical, cultural, historical and linguistic environments of the speakers into account, animal figures in given metaphors are explained. Examples are taken from English (Chapter 3), German (Chapter 4), and Lithuanian (Chapter 5) data.

The data for this dissertation were collected from dictionaries of metaphors and of idioms in English, German, and Lithuanian. The overall data consists of 626 zoometaphors in English, 663 in German, and 657 in Lithuanian, totaling 1946 zoometaphors, comprise the data.

The contrastive study of the typology of zoometaphors in all three languages reveals that English and Lithuanian prefer a simile 53% and 58% respectively, whereas German prefers the conceptual metaphor over a simile with 92% (Chapter 6). Examples are: the Engl. simile *deaf as a cuddy/ass* vs. the metaphor *sly fox*; the Lith. simile *laiba kaip bitelė* 'slender like a bee' vs. the metaphor *juoda avis* 'black sheep'; the Ger. simile *dumm wie ein Ochse* 'stupid as a bull' vs. the metaphor *Mensch, dein Name ist Esel!* 'Man, your name is donkey!'. The most popular animal categories in all three languages, as illustrated in Chapter 6, are Livestock/Fowl (Engl. 40%, Ger. 39%, Lith. 42%), Canidae (Engl. 6%, Ger. 19%, Lith. 13%) and Birds (Engl. 10%, Ger. 11%, Lith. 18%)

Future research is projected to seek zoometaphorical data from Russian and Polish.

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1. Introduction

*“Metaphor is terrifying because
it presents to us the rivalry of likeness,
the awful connectedness of everything.”*
James Wood

As René Thom states in his 1975 book *Structural stability and morphogenesis*, the appearance of language in man is a response to a double need: “(1) for a personal evolutive constraint, aiming to realize the permanence of the ego in a state of wakefulness and (2) for a social constraint, expressing the main regulating mechanisms of the social group”. The first statement illustrates the virtualization of predation. A man must think to realize the things “lying between exterior objects and genetic forms, namely *concepts*” (Thom 1975:310). The second need is to disseminate the information which is necessary for his survival. In this case, language is considered as “*sense relay*, allowing one individual X to describe to another Y what he, X, is in a position to see but Y, less well placed, cannot see”.

Indeed, this twofold purpose of language has driven man from prehistoric times to communicate with each other in order to survive. Language is a powerful tool. The baby is born with a sensory motor system and survives the first 6 months with its help. At around 6 months, the baby starts cooing and babbling producing different sounds through experimental articulation which later leads to the mimicking and imitating of the sounds produced by adults and continues to develop into words and sentences. If a child has no verbal human contact between 1 and 3 years, the articulatory emission turns into the production of a few crude sounds. Such children are called “wolf children” and are condemned to different levels of mental retardation or idiocy (Sebeok 1977:3).

Language is an important part of the social life of any human being. All speech can be decomposed into clauses, and clauses must contain at least one verb. Most languages exhibit the traditional grammatical categories, such as verb, noun, adjective, adverb, pronoun and so forth which allow the universality of translation, meaning that any language can be translated into another and that these categories are almost universal.

While linguistics is the scientific study of human language, zoosemiotics is the scientific study of the animal communication. The term zoosemiotics initially was proposed as a name “for the discipline, within which the science of signs intersects with ethology, devoted to the scientific study of signaling behavior in and across animal species” (Sebeok, 1972:61). Interestingly, the current purpose of this term shifted towards “the study of animal communication, particularly in explicit or at least implicit contrast with the study of human communication” (Sebeok, 1977:1055). Sebeok also illustrates that “human semiotic systems are of the two kinds: anthroposemiotic, that is, species-specific systems of man; and zoosemiotic, that is, those component sub-systems of human communication that are found elsewhere in the animal kingdom as well” (Sebeok, 1972:163).

It is also important to take a look at the influence of a particular culture upon metaphors. According to Lakoff (1993), because the bodily experience of a human being is universal, the basic level conceptual metaphors are grounded in human experience and

therefore can be found across different languages and shared by humans in different times and places. On the other hand, metaphoric expressions vary from culture to culture because different cultures have different attitudes towards the source domain and the target domain¹. Deignan suggests that metaphorical expressions are to some extent a cultural reliquary. She (2003:257) states that “(1) different cultures may hold different folk beliefs about attributes of the source domain; and (2) the source domain may be less salient in different cultures.” The extreme cases show that some metaphors might be frequently used in one culture, but rarely referred to in another.² Other cases reveal similar metaphors used in different language with only slight difference in frequency.

Boers (2003:232) envisages three major types of cross-cultural variation in metaphor usage: (1) differences with regard to the particular source-target mappings in different cultures; (2) differences with regard to value-judgments; and (3) differences with regard to the degree of pervasiveness of the metaphor as such. He stresses the fact that certain source domains might not be equally available for metaphorical mapping in all cultures; for example, an isolated community in the Andes can not generate an abundance of sailing metaphors like English. Boers categorizes metaphors into two categories: *primary* and *complex*. According to him, *primary* metaphors map image-schemas onto abstract experience, such as UP-DOWN, IN-OUT. Boers (2003:233) claims that because they are motivated by correlations in the domain of general physical experience, which is accepted as universal, metaphors as such might be found in different cultures around the world. *Complex* metaphors, on the other hand, are more culture specific and combine different primary metaphors. Boers indicates that although the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS is more or less universal, culture-specific imagery added to the general meaning reveals important differences. For example, anger in Hungarian is “located” in the head, whereas in Japanese, anger rises from the stomach via the chest to the head (Kövesces 1995:39). In Western cultures love is the matter of the heart, in Malay it is referred to through the liver (Kövesces 1995:179). Deignan (2003) takes this research further by stating that not only are these metaphors culture specific, they also represent a diachronic reflection of the culture.

Comparing a human being to an animal has old traditions in many cultures. The origin of these zoometaphors can be found in folk mythology and religion (discussed in detail in Chapter 2), where an animal is represented as having intellectual and spiritual human properties or as having supernatural powers. Using animals is an entertaining and useful metaphor that one can utilize in many situations to initiate a conversation with ease.

Figurative meaning or connotative meaning of the zoometaphor indicates a human being, his age, gender, describes his physical and spritual characteristics. In other words, the connotative meaning of the zoometaphors has identifying and characterizing meanings. For example in Lithuanian, *avis/višta* ‘sheep/chicken’ and *avinas/asilas* ‘ram/donkey’ have the joint characterizing meaning STUPID and the separate identifying meanings WOMEN and MEN. *Sheep/chicken* refers to a stupid woman and *ram/donkey*

¹ The conceptual domain from which the metaphorical expressions is drawn to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain.

² E.g. English and Spanish. See further Deignan 1998.

refers to a stupid man. The zoometaphor also reveals the speakers attitude towards the person he/she is characterizing, which usually is negative rather than positive.

The purpose of this dissertation is twofold: (1) to present the data of zoometaphors, which describe human characteristics, used in English, German and Lithuanian in order to discuss whether the same animals represent the same characteristics in all three languages and, (2) to research the typology of the zoometaphor in all three languages.

Chapter 2 will discuss animals throughout history and their importance in many cultures through mythology, literature, religion, and traditions. It presents an overview of the theoretical framework including study of metaphor, zoometaphor, zoosemiotics and the methodology of the collection of the data corpus for this research.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are dedicated to the corpus analysis of English, German and Lithuanian zoometaphors respectively. All three languages are of Indo-European origin. German and English belong to the Germanic branch whereas Lithuanian belongs to the Balto-Slavic branch. All three languages have grammatical and semantic gender assignments to a certain extent. Lithuanian exhibits the strictest gender assignment of the noun, while English exhibits the weakest. These grammatical phenomena will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 (English), 4 (German) and 5 (Lithuanian). Chapter 6 is dedicated to a contrastive overview of zoometaphors in all three languages. Chapter 7 will summarize the analysis of the research of a zoometaphors in English, German, and Lithuanian.

2. Review of research and theoretical framework

*“If a dog jumps in your lap,
it is because he is fond of you;
but if a cat does the same thing,
it is because your lap is warmer.”*
Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947)

2.0. Organization

This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 2.1 presents an overview of several animals in different cultures and their role and influence over the human being through mythology, literature, culture, and religion. Section 2.2 presents a discussion of the theory of metaphor, its grammatical and semiotic layers, as well as an overview of zoosemiotics and zoometaphor. Section 2.3 presents a research review of the field, and section 2.4 explains the method used for collection of the data corpus for this research.

2.1. Animals in mythology, religion and folklore

According to Paul Shepard (1967:7), myth is “the most revealing source of information about how people conceive of themselves in relation to the nonhuman world.” In mythology and folkloristics, a myth is a sacred story dealing mostly with the creation of the world. Most characters in myths are generally gods and heroes. A myth contributes to human thought and values; often religious and spiritual significance is attached to it. Shepard (1996:7) states that all myths operate on three levels: (1) the deeply personal, the concerning unconscious life; (2) that of the social and ecological; and (3) society of spiritual and eternal things in tales of creation. Each culture/society created myths and passed them on mostly by mouth³ from generation to generation in order to highlight the morality of the human soul through indirect reference to their own mind. Religion and mythology are closely connected, but have different aspects. Both of these terms refer to the system of concepts which are of high importance in communities. Mythology is often considered as an aspect of religion and is associated with a specific religion, such as Roman mythology with Ancient Roman religion. Religion, on the other hand, is a broader term and includes not only mythological aspects, but also aspects such as ritual, morality, mysticism, and theology. If the myth loses its religious aspect, it usually loses the importance in certain communities and becomes legend or folktale. It remains in the same environment, but with less importance. Gods, animals, and certain creatures which have elements of both human and animal are main characters in mythological and folkloristic tales and play a major role in the development of the behavior of the human being. Certain cultural beliefs of animals also influence the behavior of a human being as well as how one or another animal is seen in certain

³ *Myth*, derived from Greek word *mythos*, means "word of mouth."

cultures. All of these aspects contribute greatly to the behavior of the human being not only culture-specifically, but also universally. The following paragraphs reveal some of the special powers of animals as well as their importance in the human world.

There are numerous references to the *ass/donkey* in the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible)⁴. Its appearance reflects the natural geographical environment of Israel and is a very important aspect of agricultural economy. If one owned many *donkeys*, it was believed that that person was blessed by God. Riding a *donkey* indicated luxury. *Horses* during that time were rare and were solely used for war. Only powerful kings (such as Solomon, who reigned over Israel from 971 BC to 931 BC) were able to afford to import a *horse* from Egypt. The *donkey* was also a symbol of the Greek god Dionysus.⁵ In the Holy Bible (Mark 11, 1) Mary was riding a *donkey* while she was pregnant with Jesus, and later Jesus rides a *donkey* into Jerusalem. In Jewish, as well as in Christian traditions, the messiah (Jesus Christ in Christianity) was often pictured as riding on a *donkey*. Interestingly, Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, believed that if a *dog* or a *donkey* passes in front of a man in prayer, the prayer will be void or be nullified. Muhammad also said that if one hears the braying of the *donkeys*, he/she must seek refuge with Allah from Satan, since that braying indicated that they have seen a devil.

The *donkey* also appears numerous times in literary works. For example in William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the character Bottom has his head turned into that of a donkey by Puck, who was told by Oberon, king of the fairies, to change it. In *Don Quixote*, Sancho Panza rides a donkey named Rucio. The *donkey* also appears as a skeptical character in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*.

Traditionally, the *ass* is often seen a representative of human qualities such as stubbornness, stupidity, and laziness. Gubernatis 1978:359 writes "The ass in Europe at least, has had the misfortune to have been born under an evil star, a circumstance which must be reckoned to the account of the Greeks and Romans, whose humour it was to treat it as a sort of Don Quixote of animals." Indeed, the *ass*, in Eastern and Western cultures is represented differently. The roots of treating the *ass* as a stupid, stubborn, lazy, and petulant animal arose from ancient Greece and Italy, and later spread all across Europe. Although at one point it was assumed that the ridiculous nature of ass originated in Hindu fables and religion, just the opposite has been proven (Weber 1855:360). The Eastern varieties of the asinine family are more handsome and nobler than the Western ones. It is usually lively, swift-footed, and ardent, whereas in the West it is stubborn, lazy, slow, and stupid and has a down-trodden appearance. The *ass* was praised in hymns around the 14th century in France, which later turned into a satire. Germans living in Westphalia have chosen *ass* as a symbol of the dull St. Thomas. St. Thomas was the last apostle to believe in the Resurrection. Because of that, Westphalians were, and sometimes still are, called by the name "the ass Thomas" (Gubernatis 1978:31).

The *bee* is one of the few insects which plays a major role in many cultures. In Ancient Near East cultures the *bee* is believed to be a sacred insect and considered to be the bridge between the natural world and the underworld. Its images are found in tomb decorations; some tombs were even shaped as beehives. In the Mayan culture honey was considered to be the food of the gods and Ah Muzen Cab was the Bee God. In Ancient

⁴ The first part of the two parts of the Christian Biblical cannon, compiled between the 12th and the 2nd century BC.

⁵ Son of Zeus, god of wine who inspired madness. One of the main figures in Greek mythology.

Greece the bee was an emblem for *Potnia*, the Mistress Lady, also known as “The Pure Mother Bee”. Her priestesses were called “Melissa” (gr. *honey bee*). Artemis⁶ and Demeter⁷ were also called “bees.” In Hindu mythology the god of love Kamadeva carries a bow which is made of *honeybees*. Egyptian mythology suggests that bees grew from the tears of Ra, the god of sun, when they landed on the desert sand. Some archaic Greek cities, such as Hyrai (*hyron* meant “swarm of bees” in Cretan), incorporate the name of the *bee* in their names. In Lithuania, *bees* were believed to be saintly insects. *Austėja*, the goddess of *bees*, and *Bubilas*, the god of *bees*, both are deeply rooted in Lithuanian mythology. People sacrificed grasslands for *Austėja* and honey for *Bubilas* believing that it will make bees swarm better. The *honeybee* is also the symbol of friendship in Lithuania: the word *bičiulis* (‘buddy, friend’, derived from *bitė* ‘bee’) is an affectionate form of address.

Cattle seem to appear in many different cultures and religions as an important symbol for numerous reasons. Starting with Christianity, the Evangelist St. Luke is depicted as an *ox* in Christian art. The *ox* is also one of the 12-year cycle of animals in the Chinese zodiac calendar and carries characteristics such as hard working, fortitude, calmness and modesty as well as patience (Lai 1972:23). In Judaism, the ashes of a sacrificed unblemished red heifer that has never been yoked can be used for ritual purification of people who came into contact with a corpse.

One of the most memorable and important representations of the *ox* is portrayed in the Hindu tradition, where a *cow* is considered a sacred animal. In the Hindu religion the cow is a symbol of selfless giving, strength, abundance and wealth, and it must be treated with the same respect as “as one’s mother” because of the milk it provides. It can never be slaughtered for food. The *ox* also appears in heraldry throughout Europe (Italy, Poland, Lithuania). *Baubis*, a household god of meat and cattle, appears in Lithuanian mythology.

The **chicken**, in a broad sense, appears numerous times not only in mythology, but also in literature and religion. In ancient Greece, a *rooster*, because of its valor, is found as an attribute of Ares (son of Zeus, god of savage war), of Heracles (son of Zeus, paragon of masculinity), and of Athena (goddess of heroic endeavor). It was considered to be an exotic animal and therefore was not used for sacrifices. Several of Aesop’s Fables suggest that the Greeks believed that even lions were afraid of *roosters*. In the Bible, the *chicken* is the symbol of vigilance and betrayal. It is mainly based on the betrayal by Peter, which Jesus prophesied in Luke 22, 23: “Jesus answered, ‘I tell you, Peter, before the *rooster* crows today, you will deny three times that you know me.’” In the Mathew 23, 37 and Luke 13, 34 Jesus also compares himself to a ‘mother *hen*’ when he talks about Jerusalem: “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you who kill the prophets and stone those sent to you, how often I have longed to gather your children together, as a *hen* gathers her *chicks* under her wings, but you were not willing.” In Jewish tradition, a *chicken* is slaughtered on the afternoon before the Day of Atonement⁸. It is a part of a ritual called *kapparos*, during which a live *chicken* is grasped by the shoulder blades and moved around one’s head three times,

⁶ Hellenic goddess of forests and hills.

⁷ Hellenic goddess of grain and fertility.

⁸ The Day of Atonement or Yom Kippur is the most solemn of the Jewish holidays. It is traditionally observed with a 25-hour period of fasting and prayer.

symbolically transferring one's sins to the *chicken*. It is believed that the death of the chicken should remind the penitent sinner that his or her life is in God's hands. The record of rabbinic discussions, the Talmud, suggests that many should learn "courtesy towards one's mate" from the *rooster*. It is most likely because when a *rooster* finds something to eat he calls his flock to eat first. As many Central European folk tales indicate, the devil flees at the first crowing of a *cock*. The Chinese calendar also indicates the *chicken* as one of the Zodiac symbols (Lei 1972:111).

Historically, the first pictures of *chickens* in Europe are found on Corinthian pottery of the 7th century BC as well as on Greek red figure and black figure pottery from around 530 BC. As a food item, *chickens* were rare in Greece and were eaten only on special occasions. In Asian culture, the island of Delos is one of the most important mythological, historical, and archaeological sites and seems to have been a center of *chicken* breeding (Fang 1999:61). Interestingly, *chickens*, together with dogs and pigs, were domesticated as early as during Neolithic culture of Oceania⁹ around 8500 BC. Romans used *chickens* for oracles and believed that the *hen* gave a favorable omen when appearing from the left. In literature, one of the earliest references dates back to 70 AD. The Roman writer Columella gives advice on *chicken* breeding in his treatise on agriculture. He identifies several breeds and gives precise descriptions and advise on how to take care of them and for what they are best used.

Dogs play a significant role in many religions. In Hinduism the dogs guard the doors to Heaven. It is also believed that the dog is the messenger of Yama, the angel of death. The dog is also one of the twelve animals honored in Chinese astrology and is believed to be the most loyal animal to the human being (Fang 1999:67). In the Christian religion Jesus told the story of the poor man named Lazarus, whose sores were licked by street dogs. The Catholic Church recognizes Saint Rocco. He lived in the early 1300s in France and is considered as the patron saint of dogs. August 16 is celebrated as the "birthday of all dogs", also known as the feast of Saint Rocco in Bolivia (Pinney 1964:118). Most Muslims do not keep pet dogs because of the belief that they are unclean. This comes from several traditions concerning Muhammad's attitude towards dogs (Folz 2006:64) The Dog King is Scandinavian tradition and appears in several important sources such as the *Chronicon Lethrense*, *Annals of Lund*, *Gesta Danorum* (book 7), and *Heimskringla (Hákonar saga góða)* (Voss 2002:338).

The image of the **eagle** as a national, religious, and organizational symbol is seen across many cultures around the globe. As a national symbol, the *eagle* appears on numerous flags and coats of arms of many countries; it stands for strength and wisdom. An *eagle* as a religious object is very common in Christian churches and cathedrals. This is mainly because the *eagle* is the symbol which is used to depict John the Apostle (Pinney 1964:26). In religious art, John is illustrated with an *eagle*, which symbolizes the height to which he rose.¹⁰ The *eagle* is also considered to be a sacred bird in some cultures. Among Native Americans in the United States, Canada and the peoples of

⁹ Region, mostly consisting of islands in the Pacific Ocean and vicinity.

¹⁰ See further the Gospel of John, first chapter.

Meso-America,¹¹ *eagle's* feathers are also central to many religious and spiritual customs (Henninger-Voss 2002:115).

In some cultures, the *fox* appears as an animal possessed with magic powers, or as a symbol of cunning and trickery in folklore. In early Mesopotamian mythology (about 4500 BC), the fox appears as a messenger to the goddess Nunhursag¹² and is considered to be a sacred animal (Porter 1978:107). In Chinese mythology, the *fox* lures men away from their wives. The Chinese word for fox spirit is a synonym for mistress. Japanese folklore pictures the fox-like *kitsune* as a powerful animal spirit which is known for its mischievous and cunning nature (Henninger-Voss 2002:149). The image of a *fox* is often seen in the art of the Moche¹³ people in ancient Peru. In European culture, the *fox* is often associated with transformation, i.e., tales of fox transformation into humans and vice versa, as well as stories about anthropomorphic animals imbued with human characteristics (Porter 1978:57). Some of the first images of the *fox* in literature are pictured around 6 BC in Aesop's fables, such as *The Fox and the Grapes*. In today's Western societies, the words "fox" and "foxy" have become slang with the reference to an attractive woman with the sex appeal.

One of the most famous literary examples of the *horse* is the Trojan *horse*.¹⁴ It is part of the Trojan War, as told in Virgil's Latin epic poem *The Aeneid* (Kalof 2007:190). The events of *the Aeneid* take place after Homer's *Iliad*, and before Homer's *Odyssey*. In Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) a white, flaming, spiritual *horse* with a pair of wings, also called *Haizum*, is the *horse* of the archangel Gabriel; it was God's gift for pleasing Him. *Centaurs* (from Ancient Greek: *Κένταυροι* - *Kéntauroi*) in Greek mythology are creatures composed of part human and part *horse*. They are depicted as the torso of a human joined at the (human's) waist to the *horse's* withers, where the *horse's* neck would be. The origin of this creature is a still undergoing debate. Centaurs are best known for their fight with the Lapithae.¹⁵ This fight between *centaurs* and *lapithae* is a metaphor in humankind for the conflict between the lower appetites and civilization. The appearance of centaurs is mostly portrayed in a Renaissance-era sculpture by Michelangelo (ibid.). Another famous *horse* in Greek mythology is *Pegasus*. *Pegasus* (*Πήγασος*, **Pégasos**, 'strong') was a winged *horse* that was the son of Poseidon¹⁶, in his role as *horse-god*, and the Gorgon Medusa.¹⁷ One of the most famous mythological *horse* creatures is the *unicorn* (Latin *unus* 'one' and *cornu* 'horn'). It was often used in fantasy stories. The traditional unicorn was pictured as having a billy-goat beard, lion's

¹¹ Meso-America is a region/culture area which extends from central Honduras and northwestern Costa Rica on the south to some parts in Mexico (Rio Fuerte, Tamaulipas, Sinaloa). This area represents cultures which flourished before the Spanish colonization of the Americas in the 15th and 16th centuries.

¹² In Sumerian mythology, Ninhursag was the earth and mother-goddess, also the goddess of fertility.

¹³ Moche civilization flourished in northern Peru from about 100 AD to 800 AD.

¹⁴ The legend tells the story about a huge, hollow, wooden horse which was used by the attacking Greeks to gain entrance to the city of Troy. Greeks were not able to capture the city after a siege of ten years, they developed a different strategy. They decided to sail away and leave the horse, filled with armed warriors, on the shore. A Greek spy Sinon persuaded the Trojans to move the horse into the city. That night Sinon let out the armed Greek troops. They killed the guards and were able to open the gates to the Greeks. Troy was captured and burned.

¹⁵ In Greek mythology, the Lapiths were legendary people, whose home was in Thessaly.

¹⁶ In Greek mythology, Poseidon was the god of the sea and of the horses.

¹⁷ In Greek mythology, the Gorgon Medusa, one of the three Gorgon sisters, was a vicious female monster, with sharp fangs.

tail and cloven hooves which distinguished him from the *horse*. The modern picture of unicorn is a *horse* having the horn on its forehead (Henninger-Voss 2002:325).

In many cultures, *lions* have been an important symbol for thousands of years. *Lions* are often depicted as positive creatures featuring qualities such as strong, gentle, courageous, wise, and glorious. They are popular symbols of bravery as well as of royalty and stateliness. In ancient Egypt the sphinx had the head and shoulders of a human and the body of a *lioness*. It represented the goddess who was the protector of the pharaohs. Later, pharaohs were depicted as sphinxes. The image of the *lion* is often seen in sculpture and statues; it provided a sense of majesty. These sculptures were often placed at the entrances of cities and sacred sites (Kalof 2007: 115). In many cultures, *lions* are seen as the kings of animals. Aesop, in the classical book *Physiologus*,¹⁸ portrays the *lion* as the symbol of power and strength (*The Lion and the Mouse, Lion's Share*). The image of the *lion* appears several times in the Bible. One of the most memorable examples is documented in the book of Daniel (Chapter 6). Daniel is thrown into a den of *lions* and miraculously survives. Mark the Evangelist is symbolized by a *lion* figure of courage (Hart 1987:147). The *lion* is a very important symbol in Chinese culture and it is a common motif of majesty and/or power. Despite the fact that *lions* are not native to China these animals dominate Chinese architecture (in Forbidden City in Beijing,¹⁹ two statues of *lions* are seen almost at every door entrance) (Henninger-Voss 2002:188). In Japan, *lions* appear in many Japanese legends and traditional tales. Asiatic *lions* in India were commonly found throughout most of the territory in ancient times and are considered sacred by all Hindus. Narasimha ('man-lion') is described as an incarnation of Vishnu²⁰ in some Hinduistic texts (Henninger-Voss 2002:191). The image of the *lion* is often found on flags all across Asia and Europe. The image of the *lion* also appears on numerous coats of arms of many countries. One of the most famous literary examples illustrating the *lion* is *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* by Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Here the *lion* is used as a metaphor describing a human who is rebelling against old knowledge, in order to make a new morality possible (the morality of the superman).²¹

Pigs are a frequent source of reference in many cultures and carry more than one characteristic. Most of the time, *pigs* are seen as unclean, rude, clumsy and lazy animals. In non-pork-eating religions, such as Judaism and Islam, *pigs* are treated as inedible animals and carry the concept of *treift* (food that is not in accord with Jewish law) and *haram* (unlawful food according to the book of Islam). Philo, a Hellenistic Jewish philosopher, who lived around the first century, notes that *pigs* were lazy scavengers, the embodiment of vice. He argues that because of the fact that *pigs* could also eat the flesh

¹⁸ The *Physiologus* is a didactic text written or compiled in Greek most likely around 2 AD. The author is unknown. It consists of descriptions of animals, birds, and fantastic creatures, stones and plants and it provides moral content and several illustrations. The *Physiologus* was translated into Latin around 400. This book retained its influence over ideas about the "meaning" of animals in Europe for more than a thousand years.

¹⁹ The Forbidden City, built around 1406-1420 was the Chinese imperial palace, located in the middle of Beijing.

²⁰ Vishnu, also known as Narayana, is the supreme being or Ultimate Reality for Vaishnavas and a manifestation of Brahman in the Advaita or Smarta traditions of Hinduism.

²¹ Superman (from German *Übermensch*) is a concept in the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. He posited the overman as a goal for humanity. The main character contends that "man is something which ought to be overcome."

of human corpses, humans should never eat pork meat to avoid contamination (Folz 2006:131).

In pork-eating cultures, the *pig* is seen from a more benign perspective. The *pig* is a zodiac sign in Chinese astrology, where animals are associated with certain personality traits. The *pig* (Chinese “Hai”) is the twelfth sign of the Earthly Branches and is the symbol of fertility and virility. It is believed that bearing children during the year of the *pig* is very fortunate and children will be happy and honest (Fang 1999:68). Greek mythology includes Demeter, among other gods and goddesses, as the goddess of *pigs*. The Eleusinian Mysteries, which were the initiation ceremonies held every year for the cult of Demeter (beginning around 1500 BC), began by sacrificing a *pig*. It was a major festival during the Hellenistic era, which later spread to Rome (Kalof 2007:73). A *pig* also occurs in the Ancient Greek epic *The Odyssey*, in which the hero’s crew was turned into *pigs* by Circe, the Queen nymph or goddess, who lived on the [mythological] island of Aea. Ancient Romans sacrificed a *pig*, together with a ram and a bull (*souvetaurilia*), which was one of the most celebratory acts of the Roman religion (*ibid*). The Celts had Moccus, the god of *swine*, who later, under Roman occupation, was identified with Mercury. One of the attributes of The Dagda, a god in Irish mythology, is the cauldron with cooked *pork* (Henninger-Voss 2002:366). The Inquisitors during the Spanish Inquisitions, as well as during the Portuguese Inquisitions often referred to their targets (who obviously were mostly Jews) as “marranos”, literally “*pigs*” to insult the Jews, based on the fact, as mentioned earlier, that pigs are not a kosher animal in Jewish religious tradition (*ibid.*). Ancient Egypt also provides a close connection with *pigs*, through their association with Set, an ancient god of the desert, storm and chaos, the rival of Horus, the god of the sun. When Egyptians were in disfavor with Set, swineherds were forbidden to enter the temples (Klaof 2007:116). In Hinduism, the god Vishnu turned into a *boar* to save the earth from a demon (Porter 1978:127). Even Catholicism and other older Christian groups exhibit a connection with *pigs*. They are associated with Saint Anthony, who is the patron saint of swineherds (Hart 1987: 45). Winston Churchill provided a comparison and equalization between humans and *pigs* saying that “Dogs look up to us. Cats look down on us. *Pigs* treat us as equals.”

Pigs are the central characters to represent different Soviet leaders in the allegorical novel *Animal Farm* by the English author and journalist Eric Arthur Blair, aka George Orwell. The ending of the novel explicitly indicates this connection between the Soviet leaders and their representation as *pigs* in the scene where *pigs*, who have taken over the farm, are playing cards with the human farmers: “No question now, what had happened to the faces of the *pigs*. The creatures outside looked from *pig* to man, and from man to *pig*, and from *pig* to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which.” (Orwell, 84)

Across religions, numerous symbolisms of *sheep* are found. Starting with Ancient Egyptian religion, the *ram* was a symbol of several gods.²² Greeks also display a wide variety of examples. One of the most important legends, which is still being told throughout modern times, is the legend of the Golden Fleece winged *ram* Chrysomallos (Kalof 2007:61). In Abrahamic faiths, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, King David and Jacob were all shepherds. *Sheep* were also the first

²² Khnum (the god of source of the Nile River), Amun (the god of air), Heryshaf (the god of fertility, pictured as a man with the head of a ram) (Henninger-Voss 2002:96).

animals mentioned in the Old Testament (Pinney 1964:108). In Islam, *sheep* are sacrificed during the Eid ul-Adha²³ festival (Folz 2006:13). *Sheep* were also sacrificed by the believers in Judaism, as well as by Greeks and Romans during their religious practices (Henninger-Voss 2002:296). Many *ovine* symbols can be found across religions: the Passover *lamb*, the blowing of the shofar, the Sacrificial *lamb* of God (Agnus Dei), the Paschal *lamb*.²⁴ The *lamb* (known as Aries) is also the first sign of the Western astrological zodiac as well as one of the twelve animals in the Chinese zodiac calendar. People born in the year of the *sheep* are said to be shy, artistic and mild-mannered. In Madagascar, *sheep* were believed to incarnate the souls of the ancestors and therefore were not to be eaten.

In many areas *sheep* form the most common type of livestock and therefore are of crucial importance in many cultures. *Sheep* also appear as an important animal in many literary works (*Animal Farm* by George Orwell, *Far from the Madding Crowd* by Tomas Hardy). They also are key symbols in many fables and nursery rhymes. Counting *sheep* is believed to be an aid for sleep.

The symbol of the *wolf* plays a major role in Roman mythology, where the origin of the city of Rome is attributed to the Capitoline *wolf*, which fed Romulus and Remus (Kalof 2007:1).²⁵ In Christian tradition, the *wolf* has mostly negative qualities and is considered a symbol of greed and destructiveness (Pinney 1864:117). Islam pictures the predatory nature of *wolf* (Folz 2006:79). The *wolf* is one of the most revered animals in Altaic mythology. Some shamanic Turkic peoples believed that they were descendants of *wolves* in Turkic legends. One of the main reasons for such a belief is that the gray *wolf* showed the Turks the way out of *Ergenekon*, their legendary homeland, and it gave them opportunities to spread and conquer their neighbors (Henninger-Voss 2002:66). In Japan it was believed that talismans and charms with images of *wolves* would bring fertility to agrarian communities as well as to people hoping to have children and protect from against fire and diseases. Japanese farmers worshiped *wolves* and believed that leaving food offerings at shrines would protect their crops from wild animals, such as wild boars and deer (ibid.:120). Among many tribes of the Native Americans, *wolves* play major role. Many of their tribal ceremonies and rituals include *wolf's* body parts (ibid.:122).

This overview of some animals highlights their importance among many cultures around the globe. The worshipping of these animals emphasizes the close relationship between an animal and a human being which is represented throughout history, mythology, literature and religion.

²³ A religious festival celebrated by Muslims worldwide to remember Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son as commanded by Allah.

²⁴ The Passover lamb refers to symbolic food used by the Jews during the Passover seder; blowing of the shofar is the blowing of the horn made from the horn of an antelope, an important ceremony in Judaism. Sacrificial Lamb of God (Agnus Dei) is the lamb offered to God as a sacrifice for the more highly valued favor of God; the Paschal lamb refers to the lamb sacrificed at the first Passover.

²⁵ Romulus and Remus (c. 771 BC–c. 753 BC) appear as the twin brothers (of the priestess Rhea Silvia and the father Mars, the god of war) in Roman mythology and are believed to be the traditional founders of Rome.

2.2. Theoretical framework

2.2.1 The theory of metaphor

The metaphor has been used since ancient times and in the present research it is taken as a broad term which covers many figures of speech. Saying one thing in terms of something else has been practiced for centuries. One of the first examples can be observed from the works of Roman and Greek philosophers (e.g. Aristotle). **Μεταφορά** (from Greek) means 'transfer', 'carrying from one place to another'. There are two most famous and influential descriptions of metaphor from the classical times, namely those of Aristotle and Quintilian. Aristotle writes in the *Poetics*, XXI, 7-14 (Loeb translation, Levin 1962:79):

Metaphor is the application of a strange term either transferred from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the genus, or from one species to another or else by analogy. An example of a term transferred from genus to species is "Here *stands* my ship." Riding an anchor is a species of standing. An example of transference from species to genus is "Indeed *ten thousand* noble things Odysseus did," for ten thousand, which is a species of many, is here used instead of the word "many." An example of transference from one species to another is "*Drawing off* his life with the bronze" and "*Severing* with the tireless bronze," where "drawing off" is used for "severing" and "severing" for "drawing off", both being species of "removing".

Metaphor by analogy means this: when B is to A as D is to C, then instead of B the poet will say D and B instead of D. And sometimes they add that to which the term supplanted by the metaphor is relative. For instance, a cup is to Dionysus what a shield is to Ares; so he will call the cup "Dionysus's shield" and the shield "Ares' cup". Or old age is to life as evening is to day, so he will call the evening "day's old age" or use Empedocles' phrase; and old age he will call "the evening of life" or "life's setting sun".

Quintilian writes in the *Institutio Oratoria*, VIII, vi 9-10 (Loeb translation, Levin 1962:79):

Metaphors fall into four classes. In the first we substitute one living thing for another, as in the passage where the poet speaking of a charioteer, says, "The steersman then/With mighty effort wrenched his charger round," or when Livy says that Scipio was continually *barked at* by Cato. Secondly, inanimate things may be substituted for inanimate, as in the Virgilian, "and gave his fleet the rein," or inanimate may be substituted for animate, as in "Did the Argive bulwark fall sword of fate?", or animate for inanimate, as in the following lines: "the shepherd sits unknowing on the height/Listening the roar from some far mountain brow."

Despite the fact that both of these theories describe the metaphor, it seems that they deal with different phenomena. However, such incongruity implies that the metaphor is such a multifaceted phenomenon that it can support many different analyses and ultimately still remain consistent. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "*Metaphor* [is a] figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities, as

distinguished from *simile*, an explicit comparison signaled by the words ‘like’ or ‘as’.”²⁶ The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics (1997:224) illustrates metaphor as a “figure of speech in which a word or expression normally used of one kind of object, action, etc. is extended to another.” The term **metaphor** was widely used by George Lakoff in the 1980s. George Lakoff (in cooperation with Mark Johnson, 1980) analyzed the traditional and cognitive theories of the metaphor and presented the major differences between the two views. According to Lakoff, the traditional view of the metaphor (also called Aristotelian) suggests that the metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and one must have a special talent to be able to do it and do it well. The modern cognitive analysis of the metaphor allows any ordinary person to use it effortlessly in everyday life. The traditional view implies that the metaphor is a property of words and is a linguistic phenomenon, that the metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified, that the metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose, and that the metaphor is a figure of speech that is not necessary in everyday human communication. The contemporary view suggests that the metaphor is a property of concepts and not of words, that the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and that the metaphor is not necessarily used for esthetic and artistic purposes. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) also suggest that the metaphor is often not based on similarity. Their statement is that metaphor is not a linguistic ornament, but rather an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning. New metaphors can be created every day by anybody.

The topic of metaphors has been reexamined by many scholars and it seems that the discussion of the topic is endless. Black (1962:25) proposed three types of metaphor theories: the *substitution theory*, the *comparison theory*, and the *interaction theory*. All of these theories only partially highlight the features of the metaphor. The substitution and comparison theories describe the metaphor from a paradigmatic point of view and can complement each other. The interaction theory describes the metaphor from a syntagmatic point of view. Mooij (1976:121) classified metaphors according to whether a simple (monism) or a double (dualism) reference is attributed to the metaphors. The monistic (simple) description eliminates the literal meaning of the metaphor in favor of the figurative meaning, as in *foot (of the mountain)*, *wings (of an army)*, *root (of all evil)*. The dualistic theory refers to double reference in the metaphor: the literal and the figurative sense of the metaphor, where the literal sense is not completely deleted but remains as a background for the figurative meaning and creates semantic conflict with it. Poetry displays the richest amount of such examples, where play on words is of great importance. An example can be found in “The Managers”, by Auden (1958:139): “In the bad old days it as not so bad: / The top of the ladder / Was an amusing place to sit.”

The importance of figurative language plays a major role in any kind of literary or linguistic work. Each word has a literal meaning, but it can also mean something other than the literal meaning suggests. A *woman* denotes a female person, but *bitch*, *vixen*, *fox*, and *cat* can also denote a female person, adding more specific reference to the meaning. Figurative language allows stretching the meanings of the word as well as giving meaning to expressions, which when handled in their literal meaning have no significant sense. For example in English, *to play the bear* has little or no sense in its literal meaning. It does not mean that somebody is living like the bear, hibernating, hunting, reproducing.

²⁶ www.britanica.com (accessed on Jan 8, 2008)

But the non-literal meaning is of great significance. It illustrates the person, male or female, acting angrily, roughly, rudely and disrespectfully. All of these attributes refer to the behavior of the bear, which has been observed by humans. Such observations allow humans to assign qualities of an animal to the human being. These qualities of an animal are figuratively applied to the human world.

2.2.2. The typology of the metaphor

Because the metaphor covers a very broad range of different terms, it is important to analyze and understand each of them. This section is a short review of such terms.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) **a metaphor** is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. It is a **conceptual metaphor**. The two domains that are involved in a conceptual metaphor are the *source* domain and the *target* domain. The *source* domain is the domain from which a metaphorical expression is drawn to understand another conceptual domain, which is the *target* domain. For example *he is a bully*, refers to a man, who acts aggressively and rudely. Essentially, *he* and *bully*, have nothing in common, except their natural masculine gender. In this metaphor, the behavior of the man is understood as the behavior of the *bull*. Lakoff and Kövecses (1980:10) also suggest that there are three different types of conceptual metaphors: **structural, ontological and orientational**. The source domain of the **structural** metaphor provides relatively rich knowledge for the target domain, as in *life is a journey*. **Ontological** metaphors provide far less cognitive structuring for the target concepts than do structural metaphors. Their cognitive purpose is to give ontological status to general categories of abstract target concepts, as in *our biggest enemy is inflation*. **Orientalional** metaphors provide even less conceptual structure for target concepts than do ontological metaphors. The main purpose of these metaphors is to make a set of target concepts coherent in human conceptual understanding. Most metaphors in this category tend to be conceptualized in a uniform manner, i.e., *healthy is up, sick is down*.

A mixed metaphor combines two metaphors into one, as in *let's iron out the bottlenecks*. **A dead metaphor** has lost its figurative meaning, as in *the eye of a needle*. **A submerged metaphor** refers to a metaphor in which the connotative and the denotative meaning merge: *My winged heart is a bird* instead of *My heart is a bird*.²⁷

Metonymy is a figure of speech in which a word or expression of one thing is used of something physically or otherwise associated with it.²⁸ It provides an understanding of one entity which stands for another. Metonymy relates closely to metaphor, but focuses more on certain aspects of what is being referred to. Such concepts are part of the ordinary way we think, act, and talk every day. Metonymies are not random or arbitrary occurrences, but systematic. Metonymic concepts structure not only the language, but also thoughts, attitudes, and actions. One metonymic concept is **synecdoche** in which a part stands for the whole or vice versa, as in *fifty sails* where *fifty* stands for *fifty ships*. Other cases of metonymy are: producer for product (*he bought a Ford*); object for user as in *the trucks are on strike*; controller for controlled as in *Nixon bombed Hanoi*; institutions for people responsible as in *Shell has raised its prices*; the place for the institution in *Wall Street is in Panic*. (Lakoff Johnson 1980:38)

²⁷ www.britanica.com (accessed on Jan.8, 2008)

²⁸ P.H. Mathews (1997), *Concise Dictionary of Linguistics*, 224.

A **simile** refers to a metaphor in which the similarity is found between things that are essentially unlike and they are introduced by a connectives, such as *like, as, than* or verbs such as *seems*. Some examples are: *busy as an ant, mouth like a vulture's crutch, the beak of the goose is no longer than that of the gander*.

Personification refers to a figurative concept in which human characteristics or feelings are attributed to non-human/inanimate objects or abstract ideas, as seen in *the flowers were suffering from the intense heat*. **Apostrophe** is closely related to personification and refers to a thing which is addressed directly as though it were a listening person, as in Carlyle's "O Liberty, what things are done in thy name!"

Invocation refers to the act or process of petitioning for help or support which is often capitalized as in *Sing Heavenly Muse*. **Hyperbole**, a term known since the 15th century, illustrates an exaggeration, as in *to lay tangled in the hair*. **Understatement** is the opposite of hyperbole; it states or presents the statement with restraint especially for effect as seen in Seift's "Last week I saw a woman flayed, and you will hardly believe how much it altered her person for the worse". **Litotes** affirms something by negating its opposite as in *not a bad singer*. **An oxymoron** expresses an epigrammatic combination of contradictory or incongruous words as in *cruel kindness*. **Synesthesia** refers to a stimulated concomitant sensation, such as a subjective sensation or image of a sense (as of color) other than the one (as of sound). For example, Emily Dickinson speaks of a fly's *blue, uncertain stumbling buzz*. **Pun** refers to homonyms, which involve two or more meanings simultaneously in a word or phrase, as in *a bicycle can't stand on its own because it is two tired*. **Ambiguity** refers to statements with two or more incompatible meanings, as in *I saw a boy and a girl run away*.

All of the discussed terms related to figurative language fall under the umbrella of **figurative speech**. The term **metaphor** will be used in the broad sense to cover all possible meanings of figurative language found in the corpus of this dissertation and will be mainly referred to as **zoometaphor**, since all of the data include animal characteristics as a reference to the human behavior.

2.2.3. The iconicity of the metaphor

The term icon is one of the major concepts of **semiotics**, the study of sign processes (semiosis), advanced in modern times by Charles Sanders Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure.²⁹ Peirce saw the sign as a triadic relation, which involves three categories: the first, called representament, the second called object and the third called interpretant. For Saussure the sign is composed of the two entities, namely *signified* (concept) and *signifier* (sound-image) which can not be separated.

Pierce developed a typology of the sign which emphasized different ways in which the sign refers to its object: the *icon* by a quality of its own, the *index* by real connection to its object, and the *symbol* by a habit or rule for its interpretant. Because the metaphor deals with the comparison of two more or less similar notions, the *icon* plays a major role in this discussion. The *icon* (also called *likeness* and *semblance*) resembles or imitates its object. The *icon* itself has a certain character or aspect which is also seen in the object it resembles. This allows the *icon* to be interpreted as a sign (even if the object does not exist) that denotes its object by virtue of a quality (which is shared by the icon and its object, but which the icon has irrespective of the object). According to Aristotle,

²⁹ See further Peirce 1994, Nöth 1990, Saussure 2006, Rauch 1999.

“metaphors must be drawn [...] from things that are related to the original thing, and yet not obviously so related – just as in philosophy also an acute mind will perceive resemblances even in things far apart” (*Rhetoric III, 11* (Nöth 1990:132)). According to Aristotle, metaphors are “transferences of analogy” and there is only a slight difference between metaphor and simile. The Aristotelian theory sees metaphor as fundamental and comparison as an elaborated metaphor. The Quintilian theory of metaphor sees the comparison as fundamental and the metaphor as derived from it. It seems that Aristotle postulated the relationship between the metaphor and the riddle, which implies that the dissimilarity in the metaphor can be great and therefore the iconicity slight. Henle in Nöth 1990:133 states that:

... among other things [...] linguistic metaphors are not directly metaphoric because they initially signify their literal meaning symbolically, i.e., as arbitrary signs. Then, in a second semantic relation, the metaphor functions iconically in representing the similarity of two objects or situations.

This statement implies that a metaphor contains an indirect icon, which is described rather than shown. The iconic character of the metaphor is clearly seen in Peirce’s semiotics. Peirce was the first to note this level of iconicity of the metaphor. His theory of the iconic sign illustrates metaphors as being a third level of iconicity. He sees the first level of signs as the representation of the objects of signs by means of similarity occupied by images. The second level is represented through diagrams, which exemplify the structural similarity. The third level manifests metaphors as “signs which represent the representative character of a representament by representing a parallelism in something else” (Nöth 1990:133). Peirce defined likeness as “a mental fact, and the sensation of it is of no consequence except as an advertisement of that fact” (Nöth 1990: 133).

As Nöth (1990:133) notes, metaphorical iconicity can be based on either qualitative or on structural similarities. He also points out that qualitative similarities are not only visible, but also perceived by means of other sensory channels. Black (1979: 39) states that metaphors can become “cognitive signs” and that the metaphor can point out unrecognized similarities, which lead to the creation of the new congruencies.

2.2.4. The zoometaphor

Zoosemiotics (an official branch of semiotics since 1963 thanks to Thomas A. Sebeok³⁰) is the study of the semiotic behavior of animals. Zoosemiotic study is the research of nature and culture. It concentrates mainly on how animals communicate. According to Sebeok (1972:178) zoosemiotics is “that segment of the field which focuses on messages given off and received by animals, including components of a human nonverbal communication, but excluding man’s language, and his secondary, language-derived semiotic systems, such as sign language or Morse code”. Zoosemiotics, in a broad sense, researches the communications of animals with animals and/or with humans. The communication of animals such as bees, birds, and apes has often been the point of interest by many scholars. Researchers have shown that these species produce special sounds or signs to communicate with each other and state that such communication can be compared to an extent with human language (Sebeok 1977:1055).

³⁰ See further Sebeok 1972, 1977.

In this work, the term **zoometaphor** will refer to metaphors in which the behavior, emotion or appearance of an animal is a reference to the behavior, emotion or appearance of the human. The zoometaphor is a linguistic device in which a word or phrase literally denotes a kind of object or idea used figuratively for something else, as a way of suggesting likeness or analogy between them. It also conveys additional or more complex meaning beyond the literal meaning, often in a subtle way. It can be a way of “expressing the inexpressible” or “saying the unsayable”.

2.3. Research review

Not many studies have been performed where a large corpus of metaphors have been analyzed. The Lithuanian researcher Gražina Rosinienė in 1990 published the book *Kodėl raudonas kaip vėžys?*³¹ She discussed zoometaphors, or as she called “zoomorphisms” in Lithuanian with some examples in Latvian, German, and English. Her main corpus was collected from literary works by Lithuanian authors as well as from the dictionaries of idioms in the Lithuanian language. Rosinienė collected her data and represented it by dividing it into several categories, such as positive and negative characteristics of the human being, behavioral, emotional and intellectual characteristics, as well as physical. She illustrated her data with examples. The purpose of her analysis was to present an overview of the semantic layer of the zoometaphor. In her introduction, she talks briefly about the grammar and typology of the zoometaphor, but she does not undertake any linguistic analysis.

There have been only few studies (Brook-Rose, Goatly, Cameron) which were dedicated to the grammar of the metaphor and to the typology of metaphor. One of the earliest well-known works in this field is by Christina Brook-Rose (1958). She concentrates on the analysis of the language of metaphors in literature. The purpose of her research was to take attention away from the studies of the idea content of the metaphor in order to place attention on the studies of the form of the metaphor. She emphasizes that “the metaphor is expressed in words, and a metaphoric word reacts on other words to which it is syntactically and grammatically related.” She analyses a large corpus, pays attention to its linguistic patterns and provides frequency information. Because she did her analysis before the theory of the metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), she concentrated mainly on poetic metaphors rather than on conceptual metaphors. During her analysis of Old English and Middle English poetic poems she noticed that the most easily observed metaphors were usually metaphoric compound nouns (epithets as well as kennings). She gives examples such as the sun is called “heaven’s *candle*”, a ship is called “the ocean’s *charger*” or “the sea-*stallion*”. She also noticed strong evidence of the use of verb metaphors. Some examples are “*swings* out of sleep”, “ice *bridged* the water”, “the water’s glory *shrank* [with frost].” She looked at factors within metaphors, such as articles and particles, as well as the use of the verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to make’. Her data consisted of the works by 15 poets, such as Chaucer and Dylan Thomas. Brook-Rose divides, for example, nouns and analyzes them according to five main types of the noun metaphor: (1) *simple replacement* (26): the proper term is replaced altogether by the metaphors, without being mentioned at all; (2) *the pointing formulae* (68): the proper term A is mentioned and the replaced by the metaphor B; (3)

³¹ “Why red as a crawfish?”

the copula (105): a direct statement that A is B; (4) the link with “to make” (132): a direct statement involving the third party: C makes A into B; and (5) the genitive (175): B is *part of*, or *derives from*, or *belongs to* or is *attributed to* or is *found in* C, from which relationship one can guess A, the proper term. Throughout her research Brook-Rose also reveals the poets’ ability to use metaphors and remarks, for example, that Browning (311) is one of the “least interesting poet in his use of metaphor”, whereas Thomas (320) is “the most highly metaphoric of all the selected poets, sometimes irritatingly so”.

In 1997, Andrew Goatly paid attention to the markedness of word class represented in metaphors and stated that noun metaphors are inherently more marked. He discusses the important relationship between word-class and metaphorical interpretation (1997:82) and shows how word-formation processes affect metaphorical recognition and richness of interpretation. He believes that “Word-formation, and metaphors, working hand in hand, are devices for incorporating interpretations which were once highly dependent on pragmatics into coded meanings which are part of the semantic lexicon: coral polyps, as it were, incorporating the meanings in flux in the sea in the relatively solid structures of the reef on language” (1997:92). One of the main purposes of his work is to underline the importance of co-text and syntax as a factor in interpreting metaphor.

For a current researcher Lynn Cameron, metaphor is a language. She (2003:266) says that “every language has lexical and syntactic recourses that can be used to bring together two ideas. In English, stretching the meanings of verbs and prepositions, and combinations of them, seems to generate the most frequently occurring forms of metaphor.” According to Cameron, nominal forms seem to produce the most noticeable, or sometimes called strongest, types of metaphor. In 2003 Lynn Cameron carried out a study in which she paid attention to the different parts of speech used in the metaphor. Her findings revealed that verbs, for example, account for almost half of her collected data, whereas adjectives and adverbs together account for less than 5%.

Alice Deignan (2005) collected data from a computerized corpus which consisted of naturally-occurring citations from many different sources. She then analyzed the grammar of the metaphor, the semantic relations in source and target domains, and collocation within the metaphor. She recognized some common themes throughout her research which contributed to the understanding that some metaphors can be both restricted in use and, at the same time, dynamic. For example, the restrictions on linguistic mapping, which have been already observed by Lakoff (1990) and explained as part of the Invariance Hypothesis. The Invariance Hypothesis states that metaphorical transfer is limited by the inherent structure of the target domain, meaning that if one action is possible in the source domain, it might not be possible in the target domain. Deignan also noticed that not all limitations on linguistic metaphors can be explained by the Invariance Hypothesis. She says (2005:216) that “*blossom* tends to be used to talk about relationships, especially romantic ones, careers and businesses, while *flower* tend to be used to talk about creative projects. There is nothing obvious in the target domain that would prevent *blossom* being used about creative projects or *flower* being used about business, yet this happens rarely, if at all.” She also stresses the importance of syntagmatic relations since there are relatively few figurative expressions that appear in isolation. Deignan (2005:219) says that “syntagmatic relations may be more significant for metaphorical meanings of words than for literal ones, that is, metaphorical language tends to be more fixed than literal.”

2.4. Methodology of the current project

Throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, researchers have used both small corpora, of a size that can be searched by hand (e.g. Cameron 2003 above), and corpora of many millions of words that can only be searched using computerized techniques such as concordancing and automatically generated frequency lists (Deignan, 1999). Both of these methods have their advantages and disadvantages. As Cameron and Deignan (2003:151) point out, the findings of a small corpus “may not be generalizable”. They also note that such a problem is irrelevant when searching large computer-sorted data, which provide a reasonable quantity of evidence. But the large computer-sorted data might be too large to hand-sort. Another problem which might arise while searching such data is that some patterns might be missed, since the researcher begins his/her search for particular linguistic forms.

The data for this dissertation was collected by hand from various dictionaries of metaphors in English, German, and Lithuanian. The overall data consists of 626 zoometaphors in English, 663 in German, and 657 in Lithuanian, making a total of 1946 zoometaphors. The overall corpus of zoometaphors is large and it is almost impossible to encompass all of them into one research study. I decided to concentrate only on zoometaphors, which illustrate human characteristics through the behavior, emotions, intelligence and physical appearance of an animal and to compare the outcomes in three languages: English, German, and Lithuanian. Although my corpus consists of the zoometaphors, which are restricted because of their application, it hopefully will provide an insight into the typology of the zoometaphor in English, German, and Lithuanian and will initiate further investigations in this field.

This dissertation examines not only the semantic layer, but also morphological components of the zoometaphor. The data were collected from the dictionaries of idioms in all three languages. The examples are presented in the original language with the translation in English when necessary. All three languages belong to the Indo-European language family. English and German belong to the Germanic branch, whereas Lithuanian belongs to the Balto-Slavic branch. Historically, the speakers of all three languages come from mainland Europe and spread to other areas around the 1500s. The speakers of all three languages live in relatively similar geographic environments with similar climates (between maritime and continental, with wet, moderate winters and summers). The temperatures in winter may reach -4 F (-20 C) and in summer around 86 F (30C). The climate of the area is one of the major factors influencing the choice of an animal to describe the character, behavior, emotion and appearance of humans (weather.com).

Because the corpus deals with metaphors that apply to humans, it is important to discuss the grammatical category of gender. All of the three languages have grammatical gender to some extent. English, for example, displays only natural grammatical feminine and masculine genders of humans as well as of a few animals. German, on the other hand, displays three grammatical categories of gender, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter, which are applied to all German nouns. Lithuanian is, by far the language with the strictest grammatical gender division of masculine and feminine. The grammatical as well as semantic gender of nouns is discussed in detail in the beginning of Chapters 3, 4, and 5. The goal of this dissertation is to unfold the

semantic layer of the zoometaphors and to present an overview of the typology and the grammar of the zometaphor.

3. English

*Die Katze weiß wohl
wem sie den Bart leckt*
(A cat knows well, whose beard it licks)
Johan Wolfgang Goethe
Wilhelm Meister's Wonder Years

3.0. Introduction to the socio-geographic setting

The speakers of Lithuanian and German are located in more or less defined territories and have been living there for more than two millennia. The speakers of English have been scattered around the world and it is problematic, for the purpose of this research, to cover all the countries at once. I have decided to concentrate on the speakers of England and the United States of America and to exclude, for the time being, the speakers of Australia, Canada, Scotland and Ireland.

England is an island and is separated by water from the mainland Europe; it experiences the little of fauna migration as well as its small population. The United States, on the other hand, displays not only a wide variety of flora and fauna, but also has one of the largest populations in the world. Because of the large size of the United States, nearly every type of climate is represented. In most areas, the climate is temperate; in Hawaii and Florida it's tropical; in Alaska it's polar. The U.S. also possesses a desert in the Southwest, a Mediterranean zone in California, arid (Great Basin) and semiarid (Great Plains) regions. It also has a wide range of flora and fauna, which, in contrast to England, might be the source of the characteristics of most of the animals I will be presenting in this chapter. Because of the influence of the British Empire starting around the fifteenth century with maritime explorations, English spread to other parts of the world and today it is described as a global *lingua franca*. Over 309 million people speak English today.

3.1. Grammatical and Semantic Gender in English

In Modern English, gender is no longer a morphological category. Pronoun-antecedent agreement in Modern English is mainly based on natural gender. An American linguist, Benjamin Whorf, considered morphological gender to be a "covert" category in English. Old English exhibited a system of morphological gender similar to that of Modern German. Every noun belonged to the masculine, feminine, or neuter gender class. The third person personal pronouns and interrogative as well as relative pronouns were chosen according to grammatical gender. The determiners and adjectives showed gender inflection in agreement with the noun. Modern English exhibits two gender-based pronoun selections: (1) the third person singular personal pronouns *he/him*, *she/her*, and *it* (with their possessive forms *his*, *her(s)*, and *its*, and their reflexive and intensive forms *himself*, *herself*, and *itself* respectively). These are chosen according to

the natural gender of the antecedent; and (2) the relative pronouns *who* and *which*, are chosen according to the personal or animate (vs. impersonal or inanimate) status of the antecedent. Otherwise, animate nouns exhibit natural gender application, whereas inanimates are genderless.

3.2. Analysis of Somatic Characteristics

Overall characteristics

Overall characteristics include a rather general reference on an animal to a human being. Metaphors such as *kit after kind*, *like cow like calf*, *like crow like egg* refer not only to look-alike characteristic, but also to act-alike. They emphasize the generational heritage through blood and inheritance of certain genes which are passed on from generation to generation.

Overall beauty is indicated in the looks of the following animals. *Cute as a kitten* refers to a cute looking person, most likely a girl or younger child/baby. This metaphor also implies the characteristic of “innocence” with which most of the babies/children are associated because of their inexperience in life. *Ewe* has a very specific meaning: it represents a beautiful woman in a gang of thieves (Wilkinson 1993:167)

Ugliness is represented in the following metaphors: *ugly as a dead monkey*, *ugly as a toad*, *ugly as a horse's head*. *Monkeys* belong in the family of the great *apes*, the so-called Hominidae family, and although their appearance is similar to human's, they exhibit some characteristics, such as an overall hairy, disproportional body, which are considered unhandsome and ugly amongst humans. *Toad* represents an overall ugliness of a human being. The *Toad's* appearance exhibits a variety of repulsive features, such as staring eyes, wide mouth and extremely nasty and disguising skin, which also might contain poison. *Horse's* head not only indicates the overall ugliness, big teeth, large mouth, big eyes, but also illustrates other characteristics, such as stupidity.

Body temperature is another example of comparing a human condition to the natural state or behavior of an animal. *Cold as a lizard*, *cold as a frog* both refer to the state of the whole human body or only some parts of the body, such as fingers, toes or nose. *Lizards* and *frogs* are so called cold-blooded animals.

Size, strength and health

A fat person is characterized by *goose*, *bull*, *pig/sow*, *bacon-hog*, *squirrel*, and *whale*: *fat as a goose/bull/pig/sow/bacon-hog/squirrel/whale*. *Bacon-hog*, *bull* and *whale* are most of the time assigned to a male, and *goose* and *squirrel* usually represent most of the time a female. *Pig/sow* can represent both genders equally. A fat and slow child is called a *slug*. *Fat as a squirrel* refers to a fat person. Despite the fact that *squirrels* move a lot during their active season from early spring to late autumn, they gain much weight to be able to hibernate during winter months (in four-season areas). While hunting for food, *squirrels* will gather it and carry it inside of their mouth stretching out the cheek muscles. *Fat as a bacon-hog/sow* applies to a very fat person. *Bacon-hogs*, *sows* and *pigs* are specifically grown by farmers for meat and barely experience any movement during their lifetime, which allows them to gain a lot of weight. *Slender in the middle as a cow*

in the waist sarcastically illustrates woman's fatness since *cows* do not even have a waist. On the other hand, *fat as a bull* refers to a male.

Size and strength are very often connected with each other. The *bull* represents both characteristics equally. A strong person, mostly male, can be called *strong as a bull*, *strong as a bull-moose* or *strong as an ox*. A strong and courageous person is called a *lion*. A fit and strong woman is sometimes referred to as a *flea*, even though the size of this insect seems to represent just the opposite. However, their ability to survive under harshest conditions and their resistance to certain chemicals emphasizes the fact that they are stronger than they look. *Work like a horse* represents the physical strength of a human.

Shrimp, for example, refers to an undersized child or person. *Shrimps*, in their natural habitat and surroundings, are one of the smallest animals of the sea. Another, also very small creature, but living in the water is the *attermite* otherwise known as the *water spider/diving bell spider*, which also denotes the same characteristic as *shrimp*. *Water spiders* are found in ponds in the palaeartic region, which includes Europe, Northern Asia, and Africa north of the Sahara desert. Males are usually 9-12 millimeters and females 8-15 millimeters in size. Indeed, they are one of the smallest species living in water. The *Chicken* is another representative of a characteristic of small children. *Bee* can also refer to a small child. *Bee-waist* represents an adult woman with an extremely slender waist, which naturally is seen in the shape of a *bee*. *Bees* vary in size from the smallest being 5/64 inch (dwarf bee) to the biggest being 1.5 inches long (Indonesian resin bee).³² *Light as a fly* not only characterizes a person light in weight, but also implies the person is small and tiny. A short person, but not necessarily thin, is often referred to as a *hog*, as in *high as a hog*, *all but bristles*. *Hogs* do have short legs, but their bristles are usually raised in a vertical position. However, compared to the proportion of the whole *hog's* body, the bristles are very short and therefore this zoometaphor clearly indicates that one is talking about a person short in height. *Banty cock* illustrates a male person small in size, and shows characteristics such as conceit and arrogance. *Bantam* is a kind of *cock* that is genetically very small or even miniature³³.

Lean as a crow refers to a lean, but not necessarily small person. *Lean as an alley cat* and *lean as a dog in Lent*, where *cat* refers more to a female and *dog* to a male referent. *Alley cat* also refers to an aggressive and angry female. Lent is the forty-day period from Ash Wednesday to Holy Thursday in Christian communities. The Lent period in a Christian household is of a great importance and, according to tradition, the whole family must fast.

Horse godmother refers to a tall, ungainly and masculine woman. *Horses* are the tallest domestic animals, least flexible in general, they barely lie down, their body itself barely moves, except the legs, and, the neck and indeed, they are muscular and their muscles can be seen through the skin. *Godmother* emphasizes the application of this metaphor to a female referent. *Mackerel-backed* designates about a person having a long lanky body, regardless of gender. A *mackerel* is a common name which can be applied to many different kinds of fish species. It comes in a variety of sizes, the biggest being the

³² Wilson, Bee. 2004. *The hive: the story of the honeybee and us*. London: John Murray.

³³ This term refers to small breeds of *chickens*, which are usually one fifth to one quarter the size of the standard breed and bear characteristics of the regular breed.

so called king mackerel, which can grow up to 66 inches, and is more than an average humans' height.

The shape of humans' legs is illustrated through the following zoometaphors: *Bird-legs* refers to a person with thin and bony legs. *Duck-legged*, *hen-toed*, *pigeon-toes*, *cock-footed* refer to a person whose toes are turned. A thick-ankled or clumsy-footed person is referred to as being *cow-hocked*.

A small, puny child or adult can be referred to as *weak as a bee's knee*. Physically, *bees* are one of the strongest insects and are able to carry large amounts of weight. This is due to the extremely strong wings (all bees have two pairs of them). However, their knees (they have more than one on each leg) are not as weak as we think, but they are barely visible and therefore they denote the characteristic of weakness. A weak and scraggly person can also be described as being *weedy*. A *weed* is an ill-bred horse, which can not be a productive domestic animal on a farm or which has been a true helper, but due to its age and health can no longer perform its duties. *Always sitting down, like a duck* refers to one who cannot stand for a very long time and needs to sit down quite often. It can also be applied to an older person.

A monkey man refers to a weak and submissive husband, since monkeys are thought to be easily trainable and obey commands. This zoometaphor not only emphasizes a male referent, but discloses his marital status. The phrase *lion-hearted* refers to a strong person, but does not reveal the size of a person, but rather denotes a strong and courageous person. *Strong as a Flanders mare* describes a strong woman. This zoometaphor not only gives the characteristic of a woman being strong, but also refers to a bad-tempered and ill-favored woman. *Fit as a flea* or *hard as a ground toad* refers more to a female and portrays an image of a healthy and strong woman.

When talking about a sick person, several interesting facts arise. The strength of a *horse* has been discussed in previous paragraphs. However, *sick as a horse* shows just the opposite: it implies that one is sick in the stomach. *Horses* can not vomit, but might feel sick to their stomachs. *Sick as a rat* refers to a sick person in general, regardless of gender. *Rats* have the ability to spread diseases easily. *Sick as a pig* has the same meaning as *sick as a rat*. *Pigs* in general possess a wide range of parasites and diseases, such as trichinosis,³⁴ cysticercosis,³⁵ as well as a large amount of parasitic worms in their digestive tract, all of which can be easily transmitted to humans. *Pigs* are subject to pneumonia, which is usually caused by wet weather. Genetically, *pigs* have small lungs and therefore pneumonia or bronchitis can kill a *pig* quickly. Also, because *pigs* are not temperate in eating, they can also refer to a person being sick to his/hers stomach. *Sick as a parrot* refers to a mentally distressed and depressed person regardless of gender. *Sick as a dog* or *sick as a cat* refer to a person weak due to illness.

³⁴ Trichinosis, a parasitic disease caused by eating raw or undercooked pork and wild game infected with the larvae of a species of commonly called the trichina worm.
http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/dpd/parasites/trichinosis/factsht_trichinosis.htm (accessed on January 10, 2008)

³⁵ Cysticercosis is the most common parasitic infection of the central nervous system worldwide. It is caused by larvae of the tapeworm, normally found in pork.
http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/dpd/parasites/cysticercosis/factsht_cysticercosis.htm (accessed on January 10, 2008)

Age

Several zoometaphors indicate the age of a person. Many of them display the age of an animal which correlates with the age of a human being. There is also a gender division found among animals indicating the age of a person. Age is often associated with experience (discussed in 3.1.5).

Tadpole, for example, is an aquatic juvenile amphibian, a stage in the life cycle of a frog or toad and also refers to a human youngster of a human. *Chick* also indicates a human youngster of a human as well as a small person in size, as discussed earlier. *Chittyprat*, a black hen with white speckles, refers to a small child regardless of gender.

Some zoometaphors not only refer to the age of a human being, but emphasize his/hers gender. *Gosling*, a young goose, illustrates a childish young woman. *Kitten* and *filly* also refer to a playful young girl. *Filly-fair* indicates a gathering or meeting of young girls. *Mutton dressed as a lamb* illustrates an older woman who still wants to look and feel young. *Jenkin's hen*, a *hen* that never knew the cock, refers to an old maid. *Have a colt's tooth* speaks about an older person, who still retains something of youth and enjoys youthful pleasures. *Colt*, a young male horse, refers to a male. *Keffel*, an old, poor horse, combines the indication of age and gender and refers to an old man. *He/Sheno spring chicken* indicates an older person and emphasizes the fact that he/she is no longer young.

Face

Looking from the top to bottom of the human body, my research indicates several metaphors which clearly describe the human face. A very common metaphor, in the United States is *chipmunk cheeks*, which is applied to a person regardless of their gender with puffed out cheeks, but mostly indicating a newborn baby. A person having a round face can be described as *howlet-faced*. *Frilled lizard* indicates a man with a whisker-framed face.

Eyes

The shape of the eyes is represented by the following: *lobster eyed* – a person with protruding eyes; *ox-eyed* – a person with large, full eyes; *bull's eye* – a person with large, sweet eyes, the size and shape of a *bull's* eye. When saying *eyes like a prodded/poked cat under a bed*, *leer like an old bull* or *google like an owl at an eagle*, one refers to a person who has large and staring eyes.

A wide range of animals represent the ability to see either very well or poorly. For example, *blind as a bat*, *bat-eyed*, *blind as a beetle*, *blind as a buzzard* – all represent the blindness of a human being or a very near-sighted person. On the other side: *lynx-eyed*, *eyes sharp as an owl's*, *cat-eyed*, *hawk-eyed*, *eagle-eyed* represent a human ability to see very well or to see in darkness. For example, the *owl* and *cat* are known in their natural environment to see in darkness very well, while *hawk* or *eagle* represent great vision from a very long distance. *Bats* represent a nearsighted or blind person. *Bats* live in caves where there is no daylight, the eyes of most *bat* species are small and very poorly developed.

Sleep as a bat, sleep as an October wasp do not indicate the shape of the eyes, but the action. *Wasps* regularly spent the colder period of the year sleeping, since there is no possible action involving food gathering. *Bats* spend the majority of their time sleeping or napping. *Dog-sleep* indicates a very sensitive kind of sleep, half awake. These zoometaphors can be applied to either male or female. *To cast/make sheep's eyes* means to glance at someone with amorous intent. All zoometaphors in this section can be applied to both – male and female.

Ears

Deaf as a white cat refers to somebody who is said to be genetically deaf and stupid. Interestingly, it has been proved through genetic tests,³⁶ that blue-eyed *cats* with white fur have a higher incidence of genetic deafness. It is also known that many people who know this fact avoid having a blue-eyed white *cat* as a pet. But it is also possible for a white *cat* to have perfect hearing. *Hear as hogs in harvest* also refers to the deafness or reduced ability of hearing in a human being. This correlation has been made because of a hog's behavior during feedings (hogs produce loud munchy sounds). *Deaf as a cuddy/ass* is another reference to the inability to hear. This zoometaphor is connected to another distinctive feature of a *donkey* – stubbornness (discussed in 3.3). *Deaf as a beetle* also illustrates a deaf person. The genetic development of a beetle clearly shows that it not only has ears (sometimes in unexpected places of their bodies, like legs), they also can hear perfectly fine, and they use this ability to listen for their enemies or they whistle when wanting to find each other, but they don't react to human beings since they are not considered threats. Most of them listen for very high pitches, which indicate one of their worst enemies – *bats*.

Pricks his ears like an old sow in beans represents the human ability to be very awake, vigilant and wary. This ability is indicated in the age of an animal, which implies experience. *Little pigs have big ears, little rabbits have big ears* refer to the fact that one should be careful what one says, because children are listening. The young age of an animal is a clear indication of the young age of a human. There is no gender distinction when talking about the hearing of a human being: it can apply to both – male and female. However, some metaphors indicate age which marks experience.

Nose

Aquiline nose, nose like a bubbly-cock's neb, hawk-nosed refer to birds which genetically belong to the same bird-family and the real shape of their nose correlates with the shape of some human's nose. *Nose as red as crab's toe* refers to the red nose.

Mouth, lips and voice

Zoometaphors are also used to describe the shape of the mouth. *Flat-mouthed as a fluke* refers to someone who has either a flat mouth, with barely visible lips, or to someone with crooked mouth or mouth awry. *Fluke/flounder* is a flatfish which is found

³⁶ Frederick Cancer Research and Development Center in Frederick, Maryland.
http://home.ncifcrf.gov/ccr/lgd/comparative_genome/catgenome/whythecat.asp (accessed on Jan 6, 2008)

in the Northern Atlantic, in waters off the east coast of the United States and Canada as well as in the Pacific Ocean. Both eyes are situated on one side of their heads, but genetically, they are not born this way. During their growth, one eye moves to the other side of the body and therefore they both are on the top. They lie on one side on the bottom of the ocean floor, which clearly distinguishes them from the rest of the fish. Therefore the shape of their mouth is flat and due to the way they move or possible encounters with the uneven surface of the bottom of the ocean, their mouths, because of possible collisions, become crooked or awry. *Mussel mouth* or *oyster* refer to a person whose lips are tightly closed, shaped like a *mussel*. They also refer to a human being who is very uncommunicative, taciturn, retiring. The *mussel* is composed of two hinged halves that are joined together on the outside by a ligament. They close when necessary with the help of very strong internal muscles. When taken from their natural habitat, it is very hard for a human being to open them. *Pig-chafed* refers to a person having the upper jaw projecting beyond the lower. In medical terms, this condition when diagnosed in a human being is called *brachygnathia*³⁷ and it refers to the abnormal shortness of the mandible (lower jaw) resulting in a maxilla (upper jaw) that is longer. It can also be called *overshot* or *parrot mouth*.

The quality of quiet is represented in the behavior of several different animals. *Speak like a mouse in cheese*, *mute as a mouse* indicate a person speaking inaudibly, with a muffled voice and indistinctly. *Melancholy as a sick monkey/sick parrot* combines not only the physical ability of a person being quiet, but also his/her state of mental mind/physical condition. *Chicken-mouthed* illustrates a person who is too shy to speak. Shyness is demonstrated in this zoometaphor through the young and inexperienced age of an animal.

Noisy as a goose represents a loud-speaking person. A person who *has a voice like a Norway bull* is representative of two characteristics of sounds such as loud and roaring. *Roar/bellow like a bull* contains three characteristics, such as noisy, angry and powerful. *Scream like a guinea-fowl* [guinea-fowl] also represents a loud and unhappy person. *Yap like a sheep dog* is an illustration of a person being loud, noisy and continually chatting without a break.

A chatty person is mostly illustrated through birds, but other animals are not excluded. *Jay*, *magpie*, *parrot*, *popinjay*, *turkey*, *tabby* all represent a chatty person with some variation. *Jay* and *magpie* represent a chatty person in general. *Parrot* refers to somebody who repeats what is said at that particular moment, and it often refers to little children, whereas *cuckoo* indicates a repeater as well, but can be applied either to a younger or to an older human. A metaphor such as *speaking/prate as a parrot* indicates this action. *Popinjay* is a representative for a chatty person as well and includes characteristics such as vanity and dandyism. *Blather like a bubbly turkey* combines characteristics of a foolish talker, who babbles and talks nonsense, who complains and is constantly unhappy. *Jabber like a bunch of blackbirds* is a great example to indicate a whole group of chatty and loud people or only one person who is extremely loud. *Tabby* describes a gossiping old maid. *Many woman, many words, many geese, many turds* indicates the gender of the referent of this zoometaphor as well as the referent herself. It clearly defines the nature of many women as being chatty as well as gossipy.

³⁷ <http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/brachygnathia> (accessed on Jan 8, 2008)

An indistinct speaker has several representations in the animal world as well. *Like a bumble bee in a churn, like a humble bee in a pitcher* represent an indistinctly speaking person. These zoometaphors represent the sounds produced by *bees*. *Hoarse as a raven* indicates a person who has a hoarse voice due to the illness or from birth. *Raven's* croak is naturally always lower in pitch and hoarse.

Hunger

There are many animals whose surroundings and lifestyle forces them to go without food for days, sometimes weeks. However, their digestive system is also able to store food for energy, which will be used to hunt or gather nourishment and provides necessary heat for their bodies. Both wild and domestic animals are used to describe hunger.

Hungry as a wolf, hungry as a tiger are the most frequently found zoometaphors to describe the state of hunger. Both *tigers* and *wolves* prey on wild animals. A *wolf* needs approximately up to 2.5 pounds (1.1 kg.) of food each day, but it rarely receives it. Therefore it is able to compensate the days of hunger by eating up to 22 pounds (10 kg.) of food at one time (Lopez 1978:25). Because of its size, *a tiger* can consume between 11-15 pounds (5-7 kg.) of food per day. It is able to consume and successfully digest between 44-77 pounds (20-35 kg.) of food at one sitting. *Hungry as a rat* illustrates another animal which can go without food for several days and is able to store it to be digested later. *Eat as a June crow* is another representative of a wild species to deliver the message of hunger. *The crow* feeds its young in June and is not able to consume adequate amount of food itself.

Hungry as a horse, eat like a horse, hungry as a little horse all represent the same characteristic of hunger. *Horses* were domesticated about 4,500 years ago and are kept for their strength. An average *horse* (approx. 1000 lb., (454 kg.)) has a relatively small stomach, but is able to facilitate a steady flow of food due to very long intestines. It usually consumes around 15-25 pounds (7-11 kg.) of food every day and drinks around 10-12 gallons (38-45 liters) of water (Budiansky 1977:34). *Eat like a horse* clearly refers to a person's ability to eat for a longer period of time without feeling full; and *hungry as a little horse/foal* refers to a growing individual who day by day requires larger amounts of food. *Hungry as a dog* expresses hunger as well. A person having an *ostrich stomach* is a person who can digest anything. *Ostriches* mainly feed on seeds and other plant matter, but they can also eat insects occasionally. They have no teeth. They swallow pebbles which function as so called gizzard stones (gastroliths³⁸) to grind the swallowed food in their stomach. An adult *ostrich* usually carries about two pounds of such stones in its stomach (Deeming 1999:40).

Bulimia, Latin (*būlīmia*), Greek βουλίμια (*boulīmia*), ravenous hunger, which is a compound from βους (*bous*) 'ox' + λιμός (*līmos*) 'hunger'³⁹, refers to obsessive overeating. An *ox* can consume large amounts of food. However, *bulimia* is an eating disorder as well as a psychological condition. A person tends to overeat and then

³⁸ webster.com (accessed on Jan 8, 2008)

³⁹ webster.com. (accessed on Jan 10, 2008)

experiences feelings of guilt, depression and self-condemnation and usually ends up vomiting everything what was eaten. This continuous cycle damages bodily organs.⁴⁰

Full as a toad of poison speaks about a person being satisfied after eating a great amount of food. This zoometaphor can also be easily applied not only to the eating habits of a human being, but also to certain behavior, such as pride, arrogance, anger etc.

Color

Nose as red as a crab's toe describes explicitly the nose of a human being. *Red as a turkey-cock* also applies to a red nose, but it also can apply to the redness of the face. This zoometaphor can also imply anger. *Yellow as a duck's foot* refers to the overall condition of a human being having yellow skin. Individuals from different parts of the world can have highly visible differences in skin pigmentation. Individuals from Asian countries have yellow tone of the skin, compared to the individuals with African ancestry, who have a very dark skin. Yellow skin can also be caused by a lack of red cells in the human body or when in contact (through inner parts of human body) with certain medicines, chemicals, or tobacco. *Black as a turf-rock toad*, *black as a crow*, *raven black* can refer to either the color of the skin or the color of the hair. Although a *toad* is naturally not black, due to its environment, it carries a layer of black coating from the turf. The *crow* and *raven* both have black feathers and usually indicate a person having very dark hair. *Red as a fox* refers to a person having red hair. The most frequent kinds of *foxes* are red-colored and are often seen by humans.

Motion

Fast/quick as a bee, *quick as ball-hornet*, *brisk as a bee* describes a very fast-moving person regardless of gender. The *bee* can reach a maximum speed of 7.25 m/s, which for its size is extremely fast. *Fast as a mouse in cheese* carries the same meaning as a *bee*. *Quick as a rabbit* or *shuttle as a rabbit* refers again to a fast moving human. *Rabbits* have the ability to develop a speed of up to 45 mph.⁴¹ A human speed record is 53.43 mph, but the average moving (walking) speed is 3-4 mph.⁴² The *lizard* can also refer to a fast moving person. *Lizards* are known for moving extremely fast. The shape of their bodies allows them to disappear in a matter of seconds. *Nimble as a cat* represents not only a fast-moving person, but also the ability to do it gracefully.

Slow as a snail indicates a slow-moving person. Most of the species of land *snails* live in almost every kind of habitat: gardens, deserts, mountains, marshes and woodland. *Snails* move on their muscular foot, which is lubricated with mucus. A human can clearly see this muscular action. *Snails* move at a very low speed, at about 1 mm/s.⁴³ *Obstinate as a mule* not only indicates a slow-moving person, but also stubbornness on the part of that person (discussed in 3.3). A *mule*, also an indicator of a slow mover, is the offspring of a male *donkey* and a female *horse* (an offspring of a female donkey and a male horse is called a *hinny*). *Mules* come in all sizes and shapes. They resemble a *donkey* in height and

⁴⁰ webster.com (accessed on Jan 10, 2008)

⁴¹ Encyclopedia Britannica online. (accessed on January 12, 2008)

⁴² Encyclopedia Britannica online. (accessed on January 12, 2008)

⁴³ <http://members.tripod.com/arnobrosi/snail.html> (accessed on January 12, 2008)

body, but their uniformity of coat and teeth appears more *horse*-like. The main characteristics of a *mule* are patience, endurance and sure-footedness, which they inherit from the *donkey*, and the vigor, strength and courage inherited from the *horse*. *Mules* can carry more weight than a *donkey* or *horse* and their skin is harder and less sensitive than that of *horses*. Because of the weight they carry, and their sure-footedness, they move more slowly than *donkeys* or *horses*. They are also capable of striking out with any of their hooves in any direction which again will slow down the moving process. Although they are less stubborn than a *donkey*, they still possess this characteristic. Although *fudges like an old horse* indicates a slow movement of a person and can also be a direct reference to the age of a person regardless of gender. *Fast as a donkey's gallop* illustrates a slow-moving person regardless of gender. *Donkeys*, same as mules, are good working animals, but they are much slower than a *horse* and do not gallop, unless forced. Their natural speed is more like human walking speed. Being *bovine* describes a person who not only moves slowly, but is dull and lumbering at the same time. *Bulls* are slow-moving creatures; they also react to their surroundings very slowly and droningly, but can perform a number of physical tasks easily.

The following set of metaphors indicates a particular shape of the legs and/or a certain kind of walking. *Duck-footed, walk like ducks, waddle like a duck with egg/pregnant duck, walk duck-fashion, dodder like a duck, leap like a lizard* all speak about a person walking with his/her toes turned inwards and because of this, it looks as they are leaping.

The *raccoon*, a medium-sized mammal widespread in North America and, in the early 20th century, on the European mainland and the Caucasus region, represents a person who wanders about at night, and paces up and down. *Raccoons*, in their natural habitat, are omnivorous eaters. They hunt for food at night and this is when humans see them most frequently. *Snake-hips* is a person who dances or runs in a smooth, sinuous manner. *Snakes* have neither hips nor limbs. The most common mode for a *snake* to move is the so-called terrestrial locomotion, when the body of the *snake* alternately flexes to the left and to the right, which results in a series of backward-moving waves. Some *snakes* also employ a so-called side-winding kind of move, which is most common among short *snakes*. During this process, the body is divided in several segments and when one of the segments is in contact with the ground, another lifts up which results in rolling motion (Mattison, 1995: 64).

Restless as worms in hot ashes, restless as a hyena, buzzing around like a bumble bee, bumming around like a bee in a bottle, nimble as a bee in a tar-pot, wriggle like a snake; like a cat on a hot tin roof, nimble like a cow in a cage, hopping like a roach in a skillet refer more to general human behavior than just to movement. This includes the way a person acts, the way he/she moves, as well as the whole mental frustration. These metaphors describe the overall physical and mental conditions of a human being.

Another example of the combination between physical and mental state of a human is *like a hog on ice*. It shows mental and/or physical insecurity in unfamiliar situations. *Like a cat on ice*, refers to someone who is very cautious and wary and also combines physical and mental characteristics of a person. *Crooked like a snake* denotes the shape of a human body, but also indicates that he/she is in pain.

Like a whale represents a combination between vigorous and effective moving and the very energetic manner of a person. The anatomy of a *whale* resembles fish and

exhibits so-called forelimbs, or flippers on its sides, as well the tail that holds the fluke, or tail fins which help the whale to move vertically, when needed. *Whales* range in size from the smallest, sperm whale, being a little over 8 ft. (2.5 meters) to the biggest, the blue whale, which can grow up to 105 ft. (35 meters)⁴⁴. Beneath their skin they have a layer of fat, so-called blubber. It holds an energy reservoir. They also have a four-chambered heart and the neck, which provides great stability, and because of their extremely powerful limbs and the combination of all of the mentioned anatomic characteristics, they possess the ability to move in a very vigorous and energetic manner. *Swim like a fish* represents the human ability to swim. It can also be a reference to the intelligence of a human being. *Like a bird* combines the ability to perform a task or move swiftly and easily. *Graceful as a cow* is a sarcastic way to describe slow, inelegant, ungraceful persons.

3.3. Analysis of the behavioral characteristics

Data in the following paragraphs represents metaphors which illustrate certain human behavior which is indicated in zoometaphors. Both wild and domestic animals denote certain conditions of human behavior. In this section there is little gender or age division.

Diligence

The physical condition of a human being is one of the major indicators for efficiency or indolence. It is very important to take corporal physique into consideration. However, not only the physique but also the mental state of the human influences attitude towards efficiency.

Busy as a bee, a busy bee, busy as an ant all represent tireless work. *Ant* and *bee* colonies are extremely organized cooperative communities. Possible disorganization can come only from outside disturbance. These colonies consists of millions of individuals, divided into subgroups such as “workers”, “soldiers, drones (fertile males) and queens (fertile females) and they each perform their functions to keep the colony organized. It operates as a unified entity. The human eye can only catch the constant process of working. The phrase *works like a horse* also represents a hard working person. *Horses* are working animals in many countries and perform a great number of physical tasks. This zoometaphor can also refer to a person performing mental tasks as well, although it is most often applied to physical activities. To *sweat like a bull* also expresses physical abilities of an animal. In particular, it refers to a persons’ working copiously, with great energy, but does not exclude the mental ability as well. *Eager as a beaver* illustrates somebody working with more energy than skill. *Busy as a cat on a hot tin roof* has a more negative nuance: it describes a person who is busy and fussy at the same time to no purpose. *The first bird, the first earthworm* is a zoometaphor to describe a person who gets up early to perform daily tasks.

⁴⁴ http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/evolution/library/03/4/1_034_05.html (accessed on January 14, 2008)

Laziness

Metaphors such as *lazy as a donkey*, *lazy as a toad*, *lazy as a pig* indicate a person unwilling to perform any task. *Donkey* belongs in this category because of its stubbornness (as discussed earlier) and not necessarily its laziness. Although a *pig* is a domestic animal, it is kept not as a working animal, but as a source of food. *A bad dog never sees the wolf* indicates a poor workman who tries to avoid difficulties. *Dogs*, before they became domestic pets, were kept to protect the house from invaders. If a *dog* was not able to perform its duties, it was usually shot by the owner and the owner would acquire a new animal.

Drunkenness

Drunkenness is a state of intoxication of a human being caused by the intake of alcohol; the overdose can even have a lethal outcome. It also causes temporarily impairment of the brain and can lead to foolish behavior.

Metaphors such as *drunk as a pig/swine*, *dizzy as a goose*, *giddy as a goose* indicate the corporeal state and the mental condition of a human being. *Pigs/swine* are representatives for several reasons. They have no sense of fullness, and they tend to overeat which causes them to lie down and not be able to move for a certain period of time. This behavior correlates with the human condition of overdrinking and not being able to move due to dysfunction of the brain, which controls other parts of the body, especially movement. *Dizzy/giddy as a goose* represents a corporal condition of the human being. A *goose's* natural walking manner is waddle-like: such a walking manner resembles the walking manner of a drunken person. *Drunk as a mouse/rat* is another reference of a drunken person. *Mouth like a vulture's crutch* refers to a person with a very unsavory state of the mouth due to overdrinking. *Drunk as an ape* also indicates a state of drunken person.

Affectation

One of the best representatives of this category is an *ape/monkey*. An *ape/monkey* represents a person who wants to imitate someone or something in a thoughtless and derogatory manner or one who behaves thus. *Monkeys* kept in captivity have a lot of contact with human beings and experience very close relationships. They are able to acquire many skills from humans and can be easily trained to perform certain tasks. They try to repeat/imitate human behavior, but are only somewhat successful. Their physical shape, even though similar to the shape of a human being, does not allow them to perform certain tasks as easily and flawlessly as humans can. *Mockingbird* also indicates an imitator/repeater. This bird is native to North America. They are best known for the habit of mimicking the songs and sound of other birds and performing them often in loud and rapid succession. *Grin like a cat*, *grin like a dog at a bone* indicate same characteristic.

The herd instinct

The herd instinct is an inherited condition for many species, including humans. Many animals spend their lives in herds, which allow them to take care of each other more easily and - most importantly – to assure better protection from predators. Humans seem to have established a similar strategy throughout the centuries. However, while in the beginning it resembled a more animal-like herd composition, it is now looser and more diverse. Still, humans settle close to each other in order to provide for the same basic needs – to help each other and to protect each other.

To follow like a sheep illustrates human beings without initiative, without minds of their own, because *sheep* act with the flock. *All together like cows* has the same meaning. If found in the wilderness they have a leader inside their flocks/herds and must follow according to its commands (it is usually the strongest male). *Like dogs, if one barks, all bark* shows another example of human behavior. It indicates the one leader in the group who plays a major role in that society/environment. Such animal behavior implies that members of the herd do not possess independence and confidence and rely on the commands of their leader.

Shoals of fish, in droves, thick as herring (in a barrel) indicate both the sense of the herd instinct and the quantity of people in big crowds/multitudes. However, the presence of the leader might be assumed.

Impudence, immorality and politeness

The impudence and immorality of a human being can be represented by: *animal/beast, cow, pig, dog, and piglet*. The general content of the word *pig* includes bad nurture, rudeness, and impudence. The usage of the word *pig* appears in many syntactic contexts: in predicate position *pig* plays the role of figurative nomination. Both contexts can be easily transformed into each other. For example: *he is acting like a pig. He is a pig; pig, how are you behaving?* With the *pig* we compare and/or describe child or an adult that eats in an uncultured manner, with open mouth, and gobbling food, a person who does not have a basic understanding of the etiquette of human interactions, a person who does not have a sense of proportion, a person that is dirty.

The *pig* in fact is a very clean animal: it does not defecate in its own stall, but does it in their neighbors' stall. *Pigs' stalls look dirty and sloppy. Dirty as a pig/hog* represents this condition very clearly. *A pig in mud tries to make others dirty* refers to the persons' mischievous and rude behavior. *Like a sow and nine pigs in a rut* illustrates an extremely dirty person. *Drunk as a pig/swine/hog* also indicates the habit of not knowing one's limits when drinking alcoholic beverages. *To eat like a pig* refers to the habit of overeating as well as of dirtiness. *Run with the hogs and they will rub dirt on you* speaks not only about physical dirtiness, but also implies the psychological impact. *Rude as a pig* implies psychological action, treating other humans rudely and disrespectfully. *To make a pig of oneself* can be applied to an embarrassing behavior of a human being. *You can't take the grunt out of a pig* describes an incorrigible curser. *Pig* can refer to either

male or female regardless of age. *Piglet* contains same characteristics as *pig/swine/hog* and refers to the young.

Fart like a steer, fart like a cart-horse illustrate a concrete action of an animal which correlates with the same action of a human being. *Stink like a goat* refers to a stinky and unclean person. *Foul as a toad* also represents a dirty person. *Toads* live near water/swamps and are often covered with mud. They also have naturally dark (most often brown) color and warty surface. *Crows* in general are neither dirty nor smelly, but because of the color of their feathers, which are black, one can refer to a dirty person as *dirty as a crow*.

Bowing and scraping like a bull at a bank illustrates the extreme politeness of a person. *Friendly as a puppy* implies a certain level of politeness, and also indicates a person who is inexperienced and trustful.

Greediness

Greedy as a dog, greedy as a fox in hen-roost, greedy as an otter, like a wasp on sugar, greedy as a pig, earthworm all refer to a greedy, eager, and miserly person. Greediness is closely related to miserliness, but it is not necessarily represented in each of these animals. Most of these zoometaphors are created based on the animals' appetite, but when applied to humans, they can refer not only to humans' eating habits, but also to the desire to acquire material things or will power. *Like a wasp on a sugar* can be applied to a person not as a negative feature of greediness, but rather as eagerness in a more positive light. *Greedy as a pig, on and on like a pig in a harvest field* indicates lack of the sense of proportion and the physical act of overeating and overdrinking. It all combines greediness and miserliness and also implies a person being importunate. The best representative of miserliness in this group is *earthworm*. It combines greediness and miserliness equally and adds another negative feature, such as groveling. Altogether it applies to a human being whose behavior is exceptionally based on instincts and reflexes of survival.

Importunity

The quality or state of being importunate resembles the behavior of several animals. *Barnacle*, for example, refers to a follower or official who is hard to get rid of. It describes someone who keeps in uncomfortably close, troublesome adherence. The *barnacle* belongs to the same family as insects, lobsters/prawns, spiders and is characterized by the possession of a segmented body with appendages on at least one segment. It often attaches itself to a man-made structure, especially to ships. Some of them attach to other living creatures such as crab.⁴⁵ The *limpet* is another creature who has the ability to cling to something or someone and stay there for a very long time. It indicates a person who has no understanding about keeping a distance and invades, most likely unknowingly, the private or professional space of another individual. *Fly* also refers to an importunate person and illustrates the overly-persistent and obsessively irksome behavior of a human being.

⁴⁵ <http://museumvictoria.com.au/crust/barnbiol.html>, (accessed on Jan. 26, 2008)

Stubbornness

Donkey is not only the main representative in the category of stupidity, but also in the category of stubbornness. *Stunt as an ass*, *stubborn as a donkey* describe a stubborn person, unwilling to perform any task. The *Donkey's* relative, *mule*, also bears these characteristics. Metaphors such as *stubborn as a mule*, *obstinate as a mule* /*Missouri mule* all illustrate the trait of stubbornness. Both of these animals are well known for their stubbornness and reluctance to obey commands, and many times neither forcing them nor yelling at them will make them move. *Missouri mule* indicates the state animal of Missouri, and a person is often called a *Missouri mule* for *mule's* characteristics. This animal was chosen to be the state animal of Missouri in the early 1820s since *mules* quickly became popular with farmers and performed the majority of the farm work because of their outstanding strength. The adjective *mulish* can also be found in frequent use while indicating the characteristic of stubbornness. *Willful as a pig* illustrates stubbornness ironically. *Pigs* are not only obstinate, but also unruly animals. *Bull-headed* indicates a headstrong and impetuous person with outstanding stubbornness. *Stunt as a dead worm* clearly shows a person's stubbornness and unwillingness and to perform any task.

Arrogance

The characteristic of arrogance partially denotes the meaning of roughness, but other features, such as stuck-up, snotty, and puffy enrich the meaning. *Cock-headed*, *cock on his own dunghill* indicate a person very puffy and stuck-up, as well as having a certain level of aggressiveness. One *cock* usually guards the area where several *hens* are nesting and will attack other *roosters* who enter the territory. The appearance of the *rooster* is also important. It is different from that of a *hen*. The *rooster's* main characteristic is a puffed up comb and hanging flaps of skin on either side of their beaks called *wattles*. Both male and female have these organs, but in most breeds, they are more prominent in males. *Turkey-cock* carries the same meaning as *rooster* because of its similar behavior. *Cock-headed* and *turkey-cock* refer mostly to the male. *Gruff and grunt like a boar pig* refers to a pompous old man. *Hardy as a forest pig* is another indication of arrogance. Wild animals have greater levels of aggressiveness than domestic animals. Most of the zoometaphors mentioned in this section can be applied to both male and female with few exceptions.

3.4. Analysis of the emotional characteristics

Our examination of the English language reveals that the majority of metaphors have a negative import such as anger, treachery, stupidity, arrogance, craziness, and slatternness, and only a small number express positive emotions, feelings and behaviors such as cleverness, politeness, experience, pride, etc. In general, emotions can be also divided into passive and active, and different animals represent them. The active emotions can be mirrored in the behavior of an animal, whereas passive emotions can be seen in the appearance of an animal.

Anger and disagreement

This category reveals by far the most diverse group of animals to represent this characteristic. Insects, domestic pets, wild animals and birds all have the right qualities to describe this emotion. Not all of them describe the same state of anger.

The more general state of anger can be illustrated by the following metaphors. *Mad as a wasp in a bottle, angry/mad as a wasp, mad/spiteful as a hornet, cruel as a spider, fierce as a tiger/wolf, like a bull, mad as a bull at a gate, mad as a wild bullock, fierce as a duck/goose, wild as a cock goose, mad as a wet hen, fight like an alley cat* represent a very active stage of anger/madness. Anger is caused most likely by outside factors which influence the emotional state of the creatures and force negative responses from them. *Wasp, hornet* and *spider* represent the class of insects and are harmless under natural conditions, but when confronted by a possible foe, they become extremely protective and attack before being attacked. *Spiders* are known for their cruelty due to the fact that they will bite their prey to kill it. *Bull, bullock, duck, goose, and hen* represent the group of domestic animals which react to a possible foe. *Wasps/hornets* can also become extremely angry and attack. Wild animals, such as the *tiger* and the *wolf*, also refer to an angry human being. These two creatures are very similar to each other in their behavior and manners. They both survive in the wilderness while hunting for their prey, and they both protect their offspring/communities from possible invaders. Both of them must also earn a certain position inside their community, which most of the time is determined by a fight between the males in that particular horde. Any of these possible activities raise the anger of an animal and is reflected in its aggressive behavior. *Wake not a sleeping lion/dog* speaks about a ferocious and angry person who is able to cause harm when irritated by outside triggers. The true character of an angry person is represented in *the wolf will die in the skin in which he was born* and clearly indicates that the character of a malicious person does not change no matter what. An *alley cat* shows feminine aggressiveness. All of these metaphors represent clear examples of a form of active anger.

Sulky as a bull, tetchy as a wasp, ratty, waspish, vixen, full of anger as a blown toad, to have hay/straw on horns, spiteful as a hornet, reptile, spider represent passive anger. They all refer to a bad-tempered and irritable person. The examples of active anger illustrate the behavior and activity of an animal. The zoometaphors which illustrate passive anger mirror the appearance of an animal or its inner state without implying any activity. Some animals belong to both categories of passive and active anger, but for different reasons. In the passive category, a *wasp's* and *hornet's* behavior is on the verge of attack. *Hornet* refers to a malicious enemy or a cantankerous person. *Having hay or straw on horns* indicates also readiness to fight. *Bull* is in this category for its grim looks, the same as a *reptile, beetle, spider* and *toad*. The *toad* can inflate its body when threatened. It can also produce venom which can be released in case of an attack. *Toad* describes a disgusting and hateful person as well. Adjectives such as *ratty* and *waspish* describe ill-tempered people. *Reptile* denotes characteristics such as mean, despicable, groveling and repulsive. *Spider* refers more to a peevish and malignant human being. *Beetle-browed* illustrates the angry look on a person's face.

There is also a certain gender division among the zoometaphors to describe a bad-tempered man or woman. For example *wild-cat, vixen* represent a quarrelsome female

with a fierce temper. *Like a toad in muslin* illustrates a vulgar and angry woman in fine cloth. *Tiger-cat* refers to a ruthless and fierce woman. *Mare* indicates a bad tempered and ill-favored woman. *Mad as a wet hen* also refers to an angry woman, whereas *mean as a rooster in a thunder shower* illustrates an angry man. An angry man is also represented in *fierce as a ram*. *Wolf* represents a ruthless man with predatory designs on women.

Active anger can also be indicated in zoometaphors describing a group of people of two or more. *Agree like two cats in a gutter*, *cat-and-dog-life*, *vermin*, *fight like cockroaches* all indicate examples of human behavior when more than one person is involved. *Vermin* refers to angry, obnoxious and unwanted people and possess offensive characters. *Cockroaches* indicate bold fighters.

The following metaphors indicate an angry person who is no longer as dangerous and angry as he/she used to be. *Paper tiger* illustrates the power of a person which is formidable in reputation or appearance only. *Toothless lion/tiger* is another indication of someone with a ferocious appearance and formidable reputation, but in fact is not really harmful. *The lion is not as fierce as they paint him* refers to a person with formidable reputation, but who is not necessarily dangerous.

Anger can also be represented in the form of a powerful appearance. Anger can indirectly represent control over someone or something, and it plays an important role among members of human society. It is not the anger itself, but rather fear and intimidation of the members of the group towards the higher powers in the community. The following zoometaphors not only present such examples from the world of animals, but also indicate a strong gender assignment towards the referent of the zoometaphor. *The grey mare is the better horse* illustrates an older women/wife who is dominant and in control. The color of the *horse's* fur indicates the older age of the person. Being *hen-pecked* refers to a man who fears his wife and is fully under her control. *Cock*, *turkey-cock*, *bull of the woods* refer to a powerful male. *Turkey-cock* is a blustering, self-opinionated pompous person. A *cock* is a *bully* – a dominant male in the household or gang. *The bull of the woods* refers to a foreman, the boss of the lumbermen. *Fall into the clutches of a bear* means to come under the control of a dominant, predatory person or organization.

A rather general illustration of the whole group of people, disregarding gender, where one (or more than one) has the power over the others, is illustrated through *the great fish eat the little ones*.

As the data indicate, there is a division between active and passive anger. Active anger is represented through the active behavior of *bull/bullock*, *wasp*, *hornet*, *spider*, *toad*, *duck*, *goose*, *tiger*, *wolf*, *hen*, *alley cat*, *mare*, and *tiger-cat*. Passive anger can be seen through the appearance of *bull*, *wasp*, *hornet*, *rat*, *vixen*, *toad*, *reptile*, and *spider*. The characteristic of anger also indicates gender division between the female and male referent. An angry female is illustrated in the behavior of *wild-cat*, *vixen*, *toad*, *hen*, *tiger-cat*, and *mare*, whereas an angry male is portrayed through *rooster*, *ram*, *wolf*. Certain animals, such as vermin, cockroaches, indicate the whole group of people experiencing the same emotion of anger.

Happiness

Happy as a mouse in cheese, happy as a cat that sees cream, happy as the cat that stole the cream, blithe as a bird on a cherry tree, happy as a cat in a tripe shop refer to a self-satisfied, happy, complacent person regardless of gender. *Happy as little pigs in new straw, happy as pig/sow in muck, and gay as a goose in a muck* refer to a self-satisfied person and indicates sensual pleasure. *As lively as any cock* represents the good mood and general joy of a human being. *A good rooster will crow in any hen-yard* illustrates a person who will thrive wherever he/she is. *Heart –playing like a mackerel* refers to the emotional excitement of a person. There is neither gender nor age division among these zoometaphors describing a happy individual.

Gentleness and innocence

Gentleness is represented in the behavior and appearance of a young animal, but can be applied either to a child or an adult. The behavior of the *billy-goat* and *lamb*, in metaphors such as *fond as a billy-goat, gentle as a lamb, lamblike*, indicates a person's behavior and character as being gentle, soft, and mild. It implies innocence, simplicity and naïveté. Innocence is best presented in the following zoometaphors: *innocent as a goose-chick, innocent as a lamb*. Although *goose-chick* and *billy-goat* are representatives of gentleness and innocence, their adult equivalents do not possess this quality, except for the *lamb*.

Weakness and fatigue

Most of the animals representing this characteristic are small in size. A *mouse* represents a timid, retiring person. A *mouse* is small in size, prefers nightlife and darker areas, and is afraid of light and any other living creature. It hides when a possible danger might be nearby and stays calm and soundless so as not to be noticed. *Rabbit, rabbit-hearted, rabbit-scared* also refers to a timid person. *Rabbits* can easily be scared and are afraid essentially of anyone. They live in the wilderness among other animals for whom they are often the source of food. *Chicken, duck-hearted, hen-hearted* refer to feeble, timid and easily panicked people. *Calf-hearted* is another representative of timid humans and through the young age of an animal it implies uncertainty and dependence. *A lion among sheep and a sheep among lions* illustrates a person is bold only in the company of timid people. None of these zoometaphors indicate specific gender or age of the referent.

Several zoometaphors indicate not only a physical, but also a mental state of tiredness. *Tired as a donkey/horse/bull* illustrates a person who is tired after a long day of work as well as his/her emotional exhaustion. *Tired as a dog* indicates mainly physical tiredness.

Sexuality

Most zoometaphors in this category have a very strict gender division. *Alley-cat*, *gosling*, *mink*, *kitten*, *goose* represent the female as a loose, sexually overactive, playful girl/woman, prostitute, whereas *he-goat*, *tom-cat* represent a lecherous, sexually overactive man. *Alley-cat* emphasizes a loose woman, *gosling* – a playful, young woman, *mink* – sexually overactive woman, *kitten* – flirty, playful young girl, *goose* – prostitute, foolish woman. *Hot and heavy like a tailor's goose* applies to a passionate woman. *Loose as a goose* refers to relaxed young woman, with easy motion and flirtatious appearance. *Lecherous as a he-goat* and *tom-cat* both refer to a lecherous and licentious man. *An ass with two panniers* designates a lecherous and sluttish man with a woman on each arm. *Butterfly* refers to an inconstant lover regardless of gender.

Another indication of sexuality can also be represented in metaphors describing the action of intercourse. *Fuck/reproduce like a mink/rabbit* applies to a person who is acting both amorously and promiscuously. *Bang/fuck/root like a rattle snake* illustrates the vigorous action of intercourse with enthusiasm. It correlates with a *rattler's* behavior during mating season. These zoometaphors can refer to both, male and female.

3.5. Analysis of the intellectual characteristics

This part reveals zoometaphors which illustrate the abilities of the human mind. The variety of animals chosen in this segment is extremely rich. Certain zoometaphors have gender division, but the majority can be applied to either male or female. Most of these animals are domestic animals.

Craziness

This characteristic combines many other features which represent oddity and strangeness in human beings. Qualities such as being unusual, mad, insane, erratic, impractical, or obsessed with something/someone are all representatives of ordinary animal behavior. *Wild as a mountain lion* indicates a crazy person. This zoometaphor illustrates craziness, anger, naughtiness, and disobedience. *Mettle is dangerous in a blind horse* indicates an impetuous person without foresight. Blindness in this context indicates not the physical condition, but the inability to think and act on common sense. Blindness can represent the narrowness of a human mind and can lead to insane and dangerous behavior. The *horse*, in this context, refers rather to a male than a female. *Silly as a wet hen* refers to a female referent and indicates a silly, crazy and insane woman's behavior. *To monkey about/around* means to act stupid and crazy. A *cuckoo*, as already mentioned earlier, refers not only the quality of a repeater, but also to a crazy or awkward person. A *cuckoo in the nest* refers to a trouble-maker in the family. The *cuckoo* is a so-called brood parasite (a behavior common to some birds, fish and insects). Their behavior is based on the strategy of manipulation and uses host individuals either of the same or different species to raise their young. They rarely invest time in rearing their young or building nests. There is neither gender nor age emphasis in this zoometaphor. *Mad as a hare*, *wild as a hare* indicates a crazy person. Hares have reputation as being easily scared, scatter-brained, as well as having a poor sense of direction. A *land-crab* represents an obnoxious

person without clear common sense. *To play coony* illustrates a person cunning under the umbrella of craziness. *Raccoons* are known for being sneaky and extremely smart animals. *Squirrel* carries the meaning of an eccentric and crazy person and also illustrates a hoarder. Most of these zoometaphors do not emphasize a specific gender and can be applied to both male and female.

Roughness

This characteristic refers to both physical and mental actions. *Rough as a bear/bear's arse/paw* speaks about the ungracious and barbaric behavior of an animal. *Bears*, because of their size and heaviness, do not possess the quality of grace. *Clumsy as a cub-bear handling his prick; rough as a bull in a china shop; like a cow handling a musket; a pig in the parlor is still a pig; put a pig in a palace, it's still a pig; stiff as a mule* all refer to the awkward, clumsy, barbaric, rough, and ungraceful behavior of a human being. *Gruff as a bear* is representative of not only physical behavior, but rather rude, uncivil, boorish and sometimes aggressive mental behavior towards anybody. The *sparrow*, on the other hand, is physically gracious bird, but is associated with a cheeky, sharp-witted city dweller. *Sparrows* tend to reside in urban and degraded areas. *Rough as rats* refers to a ruthless, aggressive, uncouth and selfish person, one who disrespects others.

The opposite of physical roughness is caution. *Wary as a blind horse* indicates this characteristic very clearly. The *horse* in general is a very careful and wary animal, but the physical disability of blindness adds even more caution to its movements. In the human world, this carefulness can be applied either to a human's physical movement or mental behavior.

Pride

Pride connotes not only positive, but also negative meaning. In its negative meaning, pride is closely connected to arrogance. For example, *proud as a cock, proud as a bantam cock* correlates well with *cock-headed* and indicates a proud, but arrogant person. *Cock-headed* can also suggest the characteristics of roughness and aggressiveness, whereas *proud as a cock* is an indication of a snotty and stuck-up person. These characteristics come from the looks and behavior of the *cock*. *Proud as a magpie, proud as a horse, proud as a horse in bells, proud as a cow with two tails* illustrate the empty pride, outside appearance. *The bird of the nest* indicates a very positive approach to pride. It speaks about one person who is the pride of the family and each member of the family is extremely pleased to be related to that person.

Lousiness

This characteristic combines laziness and unwillingness to perform any tasks, a certain level of stupidity, stubbornness. *A lame duck* indicates lousiness through the physical disability of an animal, but carries the meaning of the mental state of a human. *Blue-duck* illustrates a dud, an unskillful, unhappy and nebbish person. *Lousy as a pig* speaks of a lazy, unwilling, stubborn and mindless person. *Worm* indicates a meaning

similar to *vermin*, and incorporates the additional meaning of an abject and contemptible person. Lousiness is also partially an indication of a light-headed person. *Butterfly*, for example, indicates a trifler, a frivolous person, as well as an inconstant lover. This comparison has been taken from the *butterfly's* behavior, which is unpredictable as well as untrustworthy. *Wanton as a wet hen* also indicates a person who is untrustworthy and unpredictable. All of these zoometaphors indicate combinations of several other characteristics already discussed in previous sections. There is neither gender nor age distinction.

Loneliness

A lone *wolf* indicates a person who works alone or independently. The phrase can also describe an independent criminal operating alone. Most of the time it denotes to a male, but can also describe a woman. *Wolves* live in packs; they cooperate only during hunting to take down large prey and in taking care of their young. Solitary *wolves* rely on small prey. *Scrub bull* is another metaphor to describe a lone person.

Curiosity

Sticky-beak refers to a nosy and inquisitive person. The correlation is made because of the resemblance between animal's beak/nose and human's nose. *Mouse* or *rat* carry the characteristics of nosiness and of sneakiness.

Freedom

Freedom is mostly represented by a *bird*, of any kind. *Free as a bird in the air* represents the sense of freedom. The *bird* is one of few creatures which has unlimited access to space and choice of habitat. *Free as a fly* is another example indicating the free spirit and physical movement of a person. A *fly*, same as a *bird*, possesses wings which allow greater access to a desired destination. *Free as a mountain goat* illustrates freedom as well. Although a *mountain goat* belongs to a different family than birds, it has great physical abilities to move even on the steepest slopes and be inaccessible to predators.

Death

A *toad-skin* indicates death. A *toad* sheds its skin every two weeks while still growing; one might find its skin on the ground. Some toads eat their skin after shedding it. *Die like a dog* illustrates the lonesome, abandoned, shameful and miserable life and death of a person. The zoometaphor *go down like flies* resembles a massive and quick death of human beings. *As dead as mutton* can not only imply the death, but can also illustrate the state of someone unconscious or extremely tired, with no sign of activity.

Stupidity

Ass generally refers to an obstinate fool, a stupid and stubborn fellow. It is illustrated in the following zoometaphors. *Donkey stupid*, *jackass*, *dumb as a dead cuddy*,

as much idea of it as a donkey has of Sunday clearly refers to an absolutely stupid person. *You can't make a running horse outr a jackass* exemplifies not only the stupidity of a donkey, but also emphasizes genetic heritage. Both *horse* and *donkey* must exercise obedience to the humans, which leads one to believe that neither *horses*, nor *donkeys* possess an outstanding mind. *Make yourself an ass and men will ride/lay sacks on you* emphasizes different levels of human intelligence.

Cock-brained, goose-headed, bird-brained, sparrow brain, hen-brained/ hen-headed also illustrate a human with a feeble intelligence. They all refer to this part of body to indicate stupidity. They all belong to the family of birds. Generally speaking, the size of a bird's head is most of the time disproportionate to the size of bird's body. The brain of most birds is mostly undeveloped and is of a very small size. The most developed part of it is the part which controls the flight-related functions. Other animals which also illustrate this part of the body as an indication of stupidity are *mutton-head, hare-brained, squirrel-headed/-minded, mullet-headed, prawn-headed. Mullet earthworm, mutton, squirrel, hare, prawn, mullet, hog/pig* speak of a great fool, a scatterbrained, shallow and brainless person. All animals have brains of a different sizes and capabilities. The human brain is a unique organ and functions in an extremely complicated way. It controls body temperature, blood pressure, heart rate, breath, and receives and processes information from our various senses, such as sight, hearing, and more. It controls the movement and most importantly it allows humans to think and experience emotions. *One mule scratches another* implies more than one person being foolish and stupid and emphasizes one fool flattering another. *To tell the tale to a mare (and she'll let a fart)* represents wasting breath on an unreceptive and foolish audience. *Stupid as owls* refers to farm workers, drowsy from sleep. *Owls* usually hunt at night and sleep during the day, which is just the opposite of humans' natural body rhythm.

Daft as a goose, stupid as a goose, wise as a goose, wise as a drake also represent degrees of stupidity. The former two metaphors indicate the stupidity directly, whereas the latter two illustrate it ironically. *Send a goose on a message to the fox's den* means to send a stupid person to deal with a clever one. *Goat* and *ox* also indicate a foolish person. *To play the goat* means to act the fool by doing it deliberately. *Anserine* combines stupidity and silliness in a human. *Turkey, coot, the lone sheep is a danger of a wolf, ragged as a sheep* demonstrate the stupidity of a human being. *To make a monkey of somebody* illustrates the action of a smarter person trying to fool one less intelligent. *Gorilla* represents not only a fool, but also a savage ruffian. *Dumb as a flounder, silly as a mullet* plays on the fact that a *fish* has a very little brain and acts according to its instincts rather than brain; both illustrate a stupid and unconscious person.

The gender division is mainly seen only among domestic animals. *Hen, mare, goose, goat* refer to a stupid female, whereas *ox, mule, ass, cock* illustrate a male possessing the same characteristic.

Artfulness and treachery

In most cases, artfulness and treachery include several important features such as anger, hypocrisy, jealousy, wiliness, secrecy and more. *Fox* overall is the main representative of artfulness and treachery. *Foxes* are extremely sly and wily animals. They are opportunistic and solitary feeders and survive mainly on live prey. They are

able to kill their prey very quickly. They do not come together in packs like *wolves* or *coyotes*, but they keep in contact with a wide range of different sounds. They are able not only to catch their prey, but also to benefit from a situation where another animal has already hunted its prey. The following zoometaphors indicate all of the above mentioned capabilities of this animal and illustrate this behavior in humans: *fox* – crafty person; *don't put the fox to guard the hen-house* – untrustworthy; *thieving as a fox's snout* – thievish nature of a human; *beware of the fox in a fern-bush* – sly, treacherous, and furtive. *The fox may grow grey, but never good* demonstrates the impossibility of a human to change his/hers character. *Vulture* describes a thievish, rapacious, voracious and insatiable person. *The vultures/buzzards are circling* indicates such an action and refers for example to people that are arriving to await the death of a wealthy relative.

Another representative of artfulness and treachery is a *snake*. *To speak with a forked tongue* means a person is saying one thing and doing another and *a snake in the grass* represents treachery lurking. The *snake* stands for a deceiver or secret informer. *Snakes* use their forked tongue to smell and to track their prey. The fork in the tongue gives the *snake* a sort of directional sense of smell and taste simultaneously. The *snake* keeps its tongue constantly in motion. Many species of *reptiles* have such tongues as well. In early western movies, Native Americans exchanged phrases such as “white men speak with forked tongues” which illustrated not only a person being double-minded, but also emphasized his/her race. *Toad* illustrates a disgusting, hateful and sneaky person. Such a denotation arises from the simple ugliness or repugnance of the animal, as well as from its ability to conceal itself. *Chameleon* represents changeable, inconsistent and treacherous person. *Chameleons* have the ability to change their skin colors depending on the environment in which they live. *A lamb in the house and a lion in the field* represents a submissive and hen-pecked person. *All dogs bite the bitten dog* speaks about a whole group of people as being treacherous and behaving this way towards one of the members of their own group. *Stinger* refers to a deceitful person. *Stinger* is a term for a sharp organ/body part found in various animals (such as insects, arachnids, crustaceans) and usually contains venom which is delivered into another animal by piercing its skin. It pierces by its own action (reflex). *Stinger* indicates a human being who uses his language skills to insult, manipulate and emotionally blackmail other persons. *Hook-fingered*, *thieving as a fox's snout* indicate the thief. *Cow-tongued* represents a deceitful person, since a *cow's* tongue is smooth on one side and rough on the other.

A spiteful and backbiting woman is often called *cat*, *catty* or *cat-witted*. The behavior of a *cat*, is most of the time unpredictable and instinctive. *Bitch* refers to a spiteful, bad-tempered, malicious, domineering, intrusive and unpleasant woman, one capable of acting with hostility; a malicious *bitch* is the female of a canine species in general. *Bitch* can also indicate male in a very concrete environment – prison, where it defines a “subordinate” to another male inmate.

Rat indicates a small, sly, despicable, treacherous, and unpleasant male. *Skunk* indicates an offensive and despicable man. *Skunks* are native to the Americas. They are best known for their ability to excrete a strong, foul-smelling odor onto anyone who invades their territory and does not keep a safe distance.

As shown above, the metaphors of artfulness and treachery represent many different characteristics of a human being through the behavior of an animal. Some of them can be associated with intelligence (*fox*), sleekness (*fox*, *rat*), greediness (*vulture*,

buzzard), fickle behavior (*chameleon*), aggressiveness (*dog, wolf*), stealing (*rat, fox*) etc. It even gives an impression about the size (*rat*) or age (*old fox*) of a human being.

Experience and cleverness

Cleverness relates closely to experience. It often times is suggested by the older age of an animal, which presumably possesses more experience than youngsters. However, the age indication in the zoometaphors does not always correspond with the age of the referent of the zoometaphor. *An old cat will not burn himself, an old cat knows fresh milk, an old dog does not bark for nothing* indicate cleverness, intelligence, and experience. The *cat's whiskers* refers to the smartest person in a group of people. Whiskers (lat. *vibrissae*) are specialized hairs which are employed for tactile sensations near the mouth of an animal (stiff feathers near the mouth of some birds) and are stiffer and thicker than other types of hair. *An old dog for a gate, an old horse for the road* refer to somebody who is sought when experience is needed. *Don't run a young dog with an old one* refers to the fact that young workers may not co-operate well with older ones. *The old cocks don't like it when the young cocks begin to crow; shall the goslings teach the geese to swim?* clearly shows the difficulty for the older generation to accept the exercise of power by the younger generation. *Goslings lead the geese to water* illustrates more friendly relationship between the elders and youngsters and shows cooperation between the two. *Lie like a pig* means to tell clever lies.

Several wild animals represent the intelligence of a human mind. *Old apes have old eyes, clever as a fox, clever as a rat* indicate cleverness and experience.

Inexperience

Barney's bull indicates an incompetent man. *Hen*, on the other hand, indicates an inexperienced and stupid woman. Both of these metaphors refer to an adult person. *Greenhorn* indicates an early stage of maturity and is associated with inexperience.

3.6. Tables of characteristics of animals in English

Table 3.6.1 illustrates somatic characteristics of animals and table 3.6.2 illustrates behavioral, emotional and intellectual characteristics of animals in English.

3.6.2 Behavioral, emotional and intellectual characteristics in English.

	Behavior											Intelligence				Emotions/Feelings							Other													
	Affectation	Arrogance	Diligence	Drunkenness	Greediness	Herd instinct	Immorality/Impudence	Importunity	Laziness	Politeness	Roughness	Stubbornness	Artfulness/Treachery	Cleverness/Experience	Inexperience	Stupidity	Anger	Craziness	Gentleness/innocence	Happiness/friendliness	Loneliness	Sexuality	Fatigue	Tiredness	Curiosity	Death	Freedom	Lousiness	Pride							
Ass/Donkey			x								X				x																					
Ape/Monkey	x	x																																		
Bear																x																				
Bird		x	x			x							x	x		x			X																	
Bull			x								X				x								x													
Calf														x	x																					
Cat								x				x				x		x																		
Chick/egg														x																						
Chicken															x																					
Cock/rooster			x			x										x			X																	
Cow						x					X		x		x																					
Crow						x																														
Dog/bitch			x			x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x							x											x		
Flea							x					x				x																				
Fluke																																				
Fly		x			x	x										x							x			x										
Fox						x		x				x	x		x											x										
Frog	x																																			
Goose						x									x																					
Hedgehog																x																				
Horse			x						x				x	x	x																					
Lamb															x	x		x				x														
Lion												x				x																				

4. German

*Der Hund bellt, wenn ihn etwas erregt.
Der Mensch spricht immer.*
(the dog barks when something arouses him.
The human talks always)
Richard von Schaukal (1874-1942)

4.0. Introduction to the socio-geographic setting

Modern German is the main language spoken in several western European countries, namely Germany, Luxemburg, Liechtenstein, Austria and Switzerland, which are geographically connected to each other. There are around 90 million speakers of German language. Another 4 million speakers live in near-by countries in areas such as Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine (France) and South Tyrol (Italy), Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Rumania and the Republics of former Soviet Union.⁴⁶ There are also speakers of German outside of the European continent, mostly in the United States of America and Australia. Most of the speakers of German in these countries inherited their language from their ancestors, which emigrated from German speaking regions during the big emigration waves in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this research, the main concentration will be based on the three major German-speaking countries: Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Because of the location of these three countries, the climat in winter varies from mild to very cold, summers from cool to very warm. The temperatures can range from about -4°F (-20°C) to around 86°F (30°C).

⁴⁶ For more see König, *The Germanic Languages*, 349.

4.1. Grammatical and Semantic gender in German

Gender distribution in German follows a variety of morphological, phonological and semantic regularities (i.e. rules that apply in most cases, but there are some exceptions). There are three grammatical genders in German: masculine (represented with the article *der*), feminine (represented with the article *die*), and neuter (represented with the article *das*). Largely inherited from the Germanic, gender assignment in German is lexicalized. Correspondences with biological gender, however, are evident in nouns which refer to humans and some animals, e.g. *der Mann* 'the man' is masculine, *die Frau* 'the woman' is feminine. Diminutive forms, as mentioned earlier, carry the neuter gender, e.g. *das Mädchen* '[little] girl'. The table below illustrates morphological and semantic gender of animals.

MALE		FEMALE		NEUTER	
Animal	Gloss	Animal	Gloss	Animal	Gloss
der Affe	ape/monkey	die Ente	duck	das Ferkel	piglet
der Adler	eagle	die Fliege	fly	das Huhn	chicken
der Bär	bear	die Gans	goose	das Kalb	calf
der Esel	ass/donkey	die Henne	hen	das Lamm	lamb
der Fisch	fish	die Katze	[female] cat	das Pferd	horse
der Floh	flea	die Krähe	crow	das Schaf	sheep
der Frosch	frog	die Kuh	cow	das Tier	beast
der Fuchs	fox	die Laus	louse	das Vieh	animal
der Habicht	hawk	die Maus	mouse		
der Hahn	rooster	die Motte	moth		
der Hase	rabbit	die Mücke	mosquito		
der Hund	dog	die Nachtigal	nightingale		
der Igel	hedgehog	die Ratte	rat		
der Kater	[male] cat	die Sau	pig		
der Krebs	crawfish	die Schlange	snake		
der Luchs	lynx	die Schnecke	snail		
der Ochse	ox/bull	die Taube	dove/pigeon		
der Pfau	peacock	die Ziege	goat		
der Rabe	raven				
der Raubvogel	bird of pray				
der Schmetterling	butterfly				
der Schwan	swan				
der Storch	stork				
der Tiger	tiger				
der Vogel	bird				
der Wolf	wolf				
der Wurm	worm				

Table 4.1. Morphological and semantic gender assignment of the nouns in German.

4.2. Data: Analysis of somatic characteristics

Body temperature

Das Schwein ‘pig’ and *der Affe* ‘monkey’ illustrate the body temperature. *Schwitzen wie ein Schwein* ‘to sweat like a pig’, *schwitzen wie ein Affe* ‘to sweat like a monkey’ refers to a person who sweats a lot.

Size, strength and health

A short and small male person is often referred to as *der Hahn* ‘rooster’: *ein kleiner Hahn ist auch ein Mann* ‘a small rooster is also a man’. This refers to a male person because of the morphological and semantic genders of the *rooster*. *Auch ein Sperling wirft im Fliegen einen Schatten* ‘even a sparrow casts the shadow while flying’ also indicates a small, person. Both of these zoometaphors imply the fact that, despite the size, one can be a powerful human being. *Ein Spatz* ‘sparrow’ refers to a small child in size. *Mager wie eine Ziege* ‘thin as a goat’ refers to a very thin woman, or a [female] child. *Ein Würmchen* ‘little worm’ refers to a slender and small child.

Der Bär ‘bear’ as in *Bärenkräfte haben* ‘have a bears’ strength’ refers usually to a male who is in great physical health. *Der Bär* ‘bear’ is considered to be one of the biggest as well as strongest wild animals and denotes humans’ good health and strength. *Der Bulle* ‘bull’, as in *er ist ein Bulle von Kerl* ‘he is a bull of a man’, *bullig* ‘bully’ refer to a very strong and healthy, heavy-set male. *Wie ein Pferd* ‘like a horse’, *Pferdestärke haben* ‘to have horse power’ denotes a strong, hard working, and healthy person. It mostly refers to a male, but because of nouns’ neutral morphological gender, it can also be applied to a female. *Er ist unser bestes Pferd im Stall* ‘he is our best horse in the stable’ illustrates this reference to a male individual, because of the masculine personal pronoun in the beginning of the sentence and it refers to the best worker or co-worker either because of his physical strength or his intelligence.

Sich wohl fühlen wie ein Fisch im Wasser ‘to feel like a fish in water’, *gesund sein wie ein Fisch im Wasser* ‘to be healthy like a fish in water’, *munter wie ein Fisch im Wasser* ‘to be bouncy like a fish in water’, imply the combination of being healthy and an overall wellness.

Sich fühlen wie ein Fisch auf dem Trocknen ‘to feel oneself like a fish on land’ illustrates a person feeling either very sick or weak or out of place. *Das Pferd* ‘horse’ as in *das hält kein Pferd aus* ‘even the horse is not able to endure it’ refers to the physical abilities of a person being strong and tough, but not able to endure certain physical/mental tasks. *Der Hund* ‘dog’ as seen in *hundsmiserabel* ‘dog miserable’ illustrates a person feeling very sick or depressed. *Der Hund* ‘dog’ as in *frieren wie ein junger Hund* ‘freeze like a young dog’ directly indicates the state of cold weather having an influence on an animal as well as on a human being. For centuries, *der Hund* ‘dog’ was the guard of the territory or the house and was kept outside the house despite weather conditions. Young dogs do not have a thick layer of fat underneath their fur and tend to freeze more rapidly than adults. A mentally as well as physically weak person, most likely a woman, because of the feminine morphological gender assigned to the noun, is

illustrated through *die Stute* 'mare' as is indicated in *eine Stute taugt nicht für den Krieg* 'a mare is no good for the war'. It downgrades not only the physical power of a woman, but also her mental abilities, suggesting that only males should handle more difficult tasks not only physically, but also mentally.

Age

The metaphors which combine age with experience will be discussed in 4.1.5. *Die Katze* 'cat' as in *junge Katzen spielen gern* 'young cats like to play' indicates a young and cheerful person, without a lot of responsibilities, as well as with a lot of energy. The morphological gender of *cat* is feminine in German, but because it is used in the plural and is characterized as "young" it refers to a young generation in general and can be applied to both, male and female referents.

Der Hund 'dog' as in *alte Hunde haben stumpfe Zähne* 'old dogs have blunt teeth' clearly shows the aging of a person directly and indirectly. This phrase obviously emphasizes the loss of energy and strength due to the aging process. Another indication of the loss of physical strength is seen in *das Pferd* 'horse' as in *alte Pferde haben steife Beine* 'old horses have stiff legs', or in *die Katze* 'cat' as in *alte Katzen liegen gern am Ofen* 'old cats like to lie near the oven'. All of these zoometaphors exhibit the plural form of nouns used to refer to an older person and therefore all of them can be applied to either a male or a female referent.

A decline not only in physical, but also in mental abilities is nicely illustrated when comparing two different animals. *Alten Wolf verspotten die Hunde* 'dogs deride on old wolf' and *einem alten Hund pisst der Fuchs an den Hals* 'a fox pisses on the neck of an old dog' show two different kinds of actions, but the same result. This zoometaphor shows *der Hund* 'dog' being the victim, in contrast to the previous metaphor. It also does not indicate the age of *der Fuchs* 'fox', and could rather be seen as revenge than disrespect for an older generation. These metaphors can be applied to either male or female referent disregarding the masculine morphological gender assigned to the nouns.

Eine alte Kuh 'an old cow' also portrays an older person, but very negatively. Because of the feminine gender assignment, it refers to an older woman and also indicates lack of the intelligence, mainly because *die Kuh* 'cow' is an illustration to describe a stupid woman.

Eyes

Good sight in German is represented by *der Adler* 'eagle', *der Luchs* 'lynx', *der Falke* 'hawk' as seen in the following zoometaphors: *Adlerauge* 'eagle eye', *das Auge des Adlers* 'the eye of an eagle', *Augen haben wie ein Luchs* 'to have lynx eyes', *Falkenauge* 'hawk's eye'. *Der Adler* 'eagle', *der Falke* 'hawk' and *der Luchs* 'lynx' have not only great long-distance vision, but also are able to navigate well in darkness. They are able to note and follow their prey from very long distances. These zoometaphors illustrate the ability of a human being to see well. *Falkenblick* 'hawk's look' indicates not necessarily the sight, but the penetrating glare of a person. In all of these zoometaphors, *das Auge* 'eye' as well as *der Blick* 'glaze/look' refer to the vision and therefore they all can be applied to either male or female referent.

Vigilance of a human being is indicated in *wenn der Löwe schläft, hat er die Augen offen* 'when a lion sleeps, his eyes are open', *aufpassen wie ein Luchs* 'to keep an eye on like a lynx'. *Der Luchs* 'lynx' and *der Löwe* 'lion' possess not only good sight, but a strong sense of navigation. Both of these animals illustrate a human being, who is able to keep track and be aware of his/her surroundings.

Das Kalb 'calf' as in *glotzen, Augen machen wie ein abgestochenes Kalb* 'stare, make eyes like a slaughtered calf' refers to somebody who is staring at something or somebody fixedly with wide open eyes. *Die Gans* 'goose' as in *schielen wie eine Gans, wenn es donnert* 'squint like a goose when it thunders' refers to a person having strabismus. Strabismus is a condition in which the eyes are not properly aligned with each other.

Der Bär 'bear', *die Ratte* 'rat' and *der Haase* 'rabbit' refer to the sleeping condition of the human being. *Schlafen wie ein Bär* 'to sleep like a bear', *schlafen wie eine Ratte* 'to sleep like a rat' indicate the action, or rather the lack of action of a human being. These two zoometaphors refer to a very deep and/or long sleep. *Der Bär* 'bear' and *die Ratte* 'rat' hibernate during the colder periods. The opposite of the deep sleep, so-called dog-sleep, is illustrated in *Hasenschlaf* 'rabbit-sleep' and is based on the protective and watchful nature of this animal.

Ears

Der Luchs 'lynx' as in *Ohren haben wie ein Luchs* 'to have lynx's ears' refers to the excellent hearing of a human being. *Der Luchs* 'lynx' not only has good vision, but is also known for its hearing abilities. Each and every one of its moves highly depends on its sight and hearing abilities.

Nose

Similar to English, as discussed in Chapter 3, *der Adler* 'eagle' is the main representative in this category. *Adlernase* 'eagle's nose' refers to a person having a hooked or aquiline nose. The shape of this kind of *der Adler* 'eagle's' nose resembles the shape of a human's nose.

Mouth, lips and voice

Der Hase 'rabbit/hare' as in *Hasenlippe* 'harelip lip' is a reference to a person who has a cleft lip. It is congenital deformity which is caused by abnormal facial development during gestation, while the baby is still growing in the mother's uterus: the upper lip is sub-divided into two parts⁴⁷. The term *Hasenlippe* is often used colloquially to describe this condition because of the resemblance of a *hare's* lip.

A chatty person is described with the help of several animals, such as *die Ente* 'duck', *die Gans* 'goose', *die Henne* 'hen', *die Sau* 'pig', and *der Hund* 'dog'. It also is noteworthy that most animals which denote this characteristic are domestic birds. The following zoometaphors indicate it: *die Enten können nichts anderes als schnattern* 'the

⁴⁷ www.britanica.com (accessed on Jan 20, 2009)

ducks know no better than jabbering'; *wo Gänse sind, da ist Geschnatter* 'where geese are, there is jabbering'; *denn die Gänse schnattern, schweigt die Nachtigall* 'when geese jabber, the nightingale keeps still'; *Hennen, die viel gackern, legen wenig Eier* 'hens that cackle a lot lay few eggs'. In *eine Sau riecht den Dreck über neun Zäune* 'a sow smells the dirt across nine fences', *sow* describes not only a chatty, but also a gossipy person.

Je kleiner das Dorf, je bissiger die Hunde – je klatschsüchtiger die Leute 'the smaller the village, the angrier the dogs – the more slanderous the people' indicates a chatty, but also aggressive and artful person and can also refer to the whole group of people. The plural usage of nouns plays a major role in application of the zoometaphors. Because of that, they all could be applied to either male or female referent regardless of the morphological gender of the nouns.

A quiet person is designated through *der Fisch* 'fish' and *das Lamm* 'lamb', *die Schnecke* 'snail', and *der Wurm* 'worm'. *Stumm wie ein Fisch* 'silent as a fish', *wie ein Lamm, das zur Schlachtbank geführt wird* 'like a lamb, which is taken to the slaughterhouse', *lammfromm* 'peaceful as a lamb' denotes a quiet and calm, as well as a fearful person. *Schnecke und Wurm machen keinen Sturm* 'snail and worm make no storm' also refers to a quiet and calm person. Neither *die Schnecke* 'snail' nor *der Wurm* 'worm' or *der Fisch* 'fish' produce any sounds audible to a human ear.

A loud female is described as *die Henne* 'hen'. This also refers to a chatty and blustery woman, as in *hat die Henne ein Ei gelegt, so gackert sie* 'if the hen has laid an egg, it cackles'. *Die Sau* 'pig' as in *schreien wie eine gestochene Sau* 'scream like a slaughtered pig' illustrates loud, hysterical and moronically behaving female. A male referent can be illustrated through *der Hund* 'dog', as in *ein bellender Hund taugt nicht zur Jagd* 'a barking dog is useless for the hunt'. It shows the ability to talk loud and gossip, as well as implies stupidity and mistrust. *Man kann den Hunden das Bellen nicht verbieten* 'one can not prohibit the dog to bark'. This zoometaphor also illustrates a loud and gossipy person. The plural form of *der Hund* 'dog' allows this zoometaphor to be applied to either male or female.

Hunger

Hungrig wie ein Bär 'hungry like a bear' and *hungrig wie ein Wolf* 'hungry like a wolf' both indicate a very hungry human being. Hunger can also be closely connected to aggressiveness *Der Hunger treibt den Wolf ins Dorf* 'hunger drives wolf into the village' shows the necessity of a certain action because of the hunger of an animal. This phrase illustrates a human's necessity to act because of certain conditions.

Der Spatz 'sparrow' as in *essen wie ein Spatz* 'to eat like a sparrow' indicates little or no hunger. *Der Spatz* 'sparrow' is one of the smallest birds, primarily a seed-eater.

Color

Der Rabe 'raven' as in *schwarz wie ein Rabe* 'black as a crow' illustrates a person with very dark hair. It could also be applied to somebody who is very dirty or has very dark skin from birth. *Der Fuchs* 'fox', as seen in *fuchsrot* refers to a person having red hair. *Der Krebs* 'crayfish' as in *krebsrot* 'crayfish red' refers to the color of the skin, most

likely to the skin of the face/nose. *Der Schwan* 'swan' as in *Schwanenweiß* 'swan white' refers to the color of the skin as well.

Motion

The German data on motion provides a wide variety of animals, such as *die Gans* 'goose', *der Krebs* 'crayfish', *die Maus* 'mouse', *der Affe* 'ape/monkey', *die Ente* 'duck', *die Schnecke* 'snail', *der Wurm* 'worm', *der Fisch* 'fish', which illustrate a certain way humans can move. *Wie eine Gans watscheln* 'to waddle like a goose' refers to a person walking in a waddling manner because the legs are directed inwards and cause the waddling. *Den Krebsgang gehen/nehmen* 'to go in/to take the crayfish's manner' refers to somebody who is walking backwards, or to a person who is walking forwards, but who is always stumbling on something. *Der Krebs* 'crayfish' can move any direction, but moves most often backwards or sideways. However, there are several kinds of *Krebs* 'crayfish', such as *sand crab*, which moves backwards only⁴⁸. *Im Gänsemarsch* 'like geese (in single file)' refers to a whole group of people who are walking behind each other in single file, but does not refer to the characteristic of waddling. It resembles the moving of geese in their natural habitat, especially the *geese chicks*, as they are follow their mother in single file, also known as Indian file.⁴⁹

A fast-moving person is often referred to as *eine Maus* 'mouse' *sie ist flink wie eine Maus* 'she is brisk like a mouse'. *Die Maus* 'mouse' in its natural habitat is not only able to move fast, it is also able to move up the wall or on the ceiling in a matter of seconds. *Der Affe* 'ape/monkey', as seen in *affenartig* 'like a monkey', also indicates a fast-moving person. A slow-moving person is referred to as *lahme Ente* 'crippled duck' and *die Schnecke* 'snail', as in *langsam wie eine Schnecke* 'slow as a snail', *im Schneckentempo* 'in snail speed'. *Der Wurm* 'worm' as in *sich wie ein Wurm krümmen* 'to wiggle like a worm' denotes a human being wiggling in similar manner to a worm.

Der Fisch 'fish' as in *wie ein Fisch im Wasser* 'like a fish in water' describes a person who can swim very well. It can also refer to somebody who is physically in good shape. *Die Ente* 'duck' as in *schwimmen wie eine bleierne Ente* 'to swim like a lead duck', on the other hand, indicates a person who is not able to swim very well.

4.3. Analysis of the behavioral characteristics

Diligence

Diligence is one of the most positive characteristics of a human being. However, the list of the animals which indicates this characteristic is not as long as one might expect. *Das Pferd* 'horse' as in *arbeiten wie ein Pferd* 'to work like a horse' resembles both the physical potential and the mental abilities of a human being as he/she is able tirelessly to perform endless amount of tasks throughout certain periods of time. *Das beste Pferd im Stall* 'the best horse in stable' shows not only that a human is a very good worker, but also that he/she is the best worker among the good ones. *Das Pferd* 'horse' is

⁴⁸ <http://147.72.68.29/crayfish/IAA/> (International Association of Astacology)

⁴⁹ www.britanica.com (accessed Jan. 25, 2009)

one of the main working animals, next to *der Bulle* ‘bull’, *der Esel* ‘donkey’, and *der Muli* ‘mule’. It has great stamina as well as a strong physique and it can perform a large number of physical tasks. *Williges Pferd soll man nicht treiben* ‘a willing horse should not be forced’ denotes the successful performance of a human being which should be appreciated and not over-forced by others. *Wie das Pferd, so die Last* ‘like horse like load’ illustrates each human’s different abilities to carry a certain load whether physically or mentally. *Ein gutes Pferd findet bald einen Reiter* ‘a good horse will soon find a rider’ refers to a diligent and desirable worker.

Der Wolf ‘wolf’ as in *der Hunger treibt den Wolf ins Dorf* ‘hunger drives a wolf into the village’ refers to the necessity of learning and performing new tasks when needed. *Der Vogel* ‘bird’ as in *der frühe Vogel fängt den Wurm* ‘the early bird catches the worm’ indicates a diligent person. *Der Hund* ‘dog’ as seen in *ein guter Hund ist seines Futters wert* ‘a good dog is worth its food’ refers to a good worker. *Das Huhn* ‘chicken’ as in *ein fleißiges Huhn findet auf jedem Mist zu tun* ‘a diligent hen will find something to do on each dunghill’ also indicates a very hard-working and diligent human being who is willing to perform different kinds of tasks and will always find an occupation for him/herself. *Der Esel* ‘ass/donkey’, usually representing a stupid and stubborn person, can also denote the characteristic of diligence and present the ability to perform a task flawlessly. *Der Esel* ‘ass/donkey’, as in *wenn der Esel seine Tracht hat, weiß er wie er gehen soll* ‘when a donkey has his load, he knows how to go’ resembles an experienced and hard-working person who knows his/her abilities and responsibilities and knows how to handle them. *Wer ein guter Esel werden will, der griest schon im Mutterleibe* ‘he who wants to be a good donkey, greys already in womb’ also indicates a diligent person. *Das Schaf* ‘sheep’, as in *ein braves Schaf muss viele Lämmer säugen* ‘a diligent sheep must nurse many lambs’, not only refers to a hard working human, but also exhibits willingness and devotion to the assigned task. Despite different morphological genders of the nouns, all of these zoometaphors can illustrate either a male or a female. *Fleißig wie eine Biene* ‘busy as a bee’ denotes a diligent and hard working female.

Laziness

Der Wolf ‘wolf’, as seen in *die Lämmer laufen nicht in das Maul des schlafenden Wolfes* ‘lambs will not ran into the mouth of a sleeping wolf’, *ein Wolf im Schlaf fängt nie ein Schaf vertragen* ‘a sleeping wolf will never catch a sheep’, can refer to a lazy person. As seen in the discussion of diligence earlier, these zoometaphors are conditioned by an animal’s behavior in a particular situation or moment. A similar situation is illustrated through *der Fuchs* ‘fox’, as in *dem schlafenden Fuchs fällt nichts im Maul* ‘nothing will fall into the mouth of a sleeping fox’. These zoometaphors do not portray the actual laziness of the animal, but illustrate lack of necessity for action. *Der Wolf* ‘wolf’ and *der Fuchs* ‘fox’ are in general active animals, especially when hunting for food. The same characteristic is represented through *die Katze* ‘cat’, as seen in *im Schlafe fängt die Katze keine Maus* ‘a sleeping cat will not catch a mouse’. *Die Sau* ‘pig’, as in *eine faule Sau sein* ‘to be a lazy pig’, reveals a person being not only lazy, but also combines the characteristics of *die Sau* ‘pig’ as being rude, dirty, impolite and slatternly. *Der fettesten Sau gehört allzeit der größte Dreck* ‘the biggest dirt belongs to the fattest pig’ indicates a lazy person through pretermission. Similar application is seen in *ein*

fauler Hund ist voller Flöhe ‘a lazy dog is full of fleas’. The reference to the fat of *die Sau* ‘pig’ is also an indication of self-neglect. Another indication of laziness could be seen through the unwillingness to perform certain tasks. *Das Pferd* ‘horse’ in *das Pferd will wohl den Hafer, aber nicht in den Sattel* ‘the horse certainly wants oats, but not the saddle’ shows the laziness of a human being through the refusal to perform everyday tasks. A similar situation is seen in *der Fuchs* ‘fox’ as well as *die Katze* ‘cat’, as in *dem Fuchs sind die Trauben zu sauer, hängen die Trauben zu hoch* ‘grapes are too sour for the fox, if they are hanging too high’; *der Fuchs träumt gern von Gänsen* ‘the fox likes to dream about geese’; *die Katze frisst gern Fische, sie will aber nicht ins Wasser* ‘the cat loves eating fish, but she does not want to get into the water’. These zoometaphors can refer to either male or female.

Drunkeness

Besoffen wie ein Schwein/wie eine Sau ‘drunk like a pig/swine’ refers to a drunk person, regardless the gender. *Das Schwein/die Sau* ‘pig/swine’ does not have the sense of fullness and tends to overeat, which leads to temporary immobility. The loss of the sense of fullness denotes also a human being who is unable to control his/her intake not only of food, but in this situation, of alcohol, which causes temporary dysfunction of the brain and affects not only the physical abilities of the human being, but also the mental.

Affectation

Der Frosch ‘frog’, as in *sei kein Frosch* ‘don’t be a frog’, refers to a person who is behaving strangely and full of affectation. *Den Affen machen* ‘to make a monkey’ refers to a person who is behaving oddly, but funny. *Der Affe* ‘ape/monkey’ has the ability to physically imitate other animals or humans and copy some of their gestures or movements.

The herd instinct

German displays a wide variety of animals which represent this characteristic: *das Schaf* ‘sheep’, *die Gans* ‘goose’, *der Vogel* ‘bird’, *der Hahn* ‘rooster’, *die Krähe* ‘crow’, and *der Hund* ‘dog’. The herd instinct is a natural instinct of many species, including humans. It is a natural urge to live in large communities for the purpose of security. *Das Schaf folgt der Herde* ‘the sheep follows the herd’, *ein Schaf folgt dem andern* ‘one sheep follows the other’ clearly indicate the natural instinct of a human being to be close to his/her own kind. *Das Schaf* ‘sheep’ exhibits the tendency to gather close to other members of a flock. *Das Schaf* ‘sheep’, in this particular situation, also illustrates a rather indecisive person incapable of making decisions. The term *der Vogel* ‘bird’, as in *wo ein Vogel ist, da hocken bald mehr* ‘where there is one bird, more [birds] perch’, also shows the natural urge to gather in large groups. Birds live in flocks which can vary from a few birds to several thousands of birds. They gather close for protection or nourishment. *Die Gans* ‘goose’, as in *eine Gans geht gern mit den andern* ‘one goose walks gladly with the others’, *auch Wildgänse haben einen Führer* ‘even wild geese have a leader’, also resemble the same behavior as *das Schaf* ‘sheep’. They usually live in flocks in the

wilderness. Wild *geese*, depending on their living environment, migrate during the winter months. The signal to migrate is usually given by the leader or even several leaders of the group. However, *die Gans* ‘goose’, living in the wilderness, can make a decision to follow the leader or to ignore him. Similar to *die Gans* ‘goose’ other birds, such as *die Krähe* ‘crow’, as in *wo ein Krähe sitzt, da sitzen bald zehn* ‘where one raven perches, perch ten [ravens] soon’, also illustrate the same behavior. *Der Hahn* ‘rooster’ as in *wenn ein Hahn kräht, so krähen sie alle* ‘when one rooster carks, so do they all’ is an illustration of a slightly different herd instinct. There is usually only one *rooster* in the flock who governs the *hens*, but cooperates with *roosters* in neighboring yards. It shows the position of a person, who is higher than the whole flock, a person who is supervising his/her subordinates as well as other people who are willing to follow his/her lead. The same behavior is indicated in *bellt ein Hund, so kläffen sie alle* ‘if one dog barks, so do they all’. It indicates the authority of a person.

Impudence, immorality and politeness

One of the main characters in this category is *das Schwein* ‘pig’. Other animals which also represent similar characteristics are *der Hund* ‘dog’, *der Fuchs* ‘fox’ and *die Kuh* ‘cow’.

Ein Schwein ‘a pig’ in general represents many negative human characteristics, such as dirtiness, rudeness, impoliteness, incivility, slovenliness, negligence, and roughness combined. *Die wilde Sau spielen* ‘to act like a wild sow’ refers to a person acting impolitely. The emphasis of *wild* ‘wild’ strengthens the churlish nature of the animals and transfers it onto the human. *Unter dreien ist immer eine Sau* ‘there is always a sow amongst three’ illustrates a group of people where one deserves to be called *die Sau* ‘sow’, because of his/her behavior towards the others. *Wie die Sau, so der Stall, so ist auch ihr Gestank* ‘as the sow, so its stable, so also is its stench’ illustrates the behavior of a human being through the combined characteristics of the sow, which in this situation are rudeness, negligence, and slovenliness. Whereas the morphological neuter gender of *das Schwein* ‘pig’ can be applied to either a male or a female referent, the feminine *die Sau* ‘sow’ applies to a female.

Aus einem Ferkel wird eine Sau ‘a piglet will turn into a sow’, *von der Sau lernen die Ferkel grunzen* ‘piglets learn to grunt from the sow’, *aus einer kleinen Sau wird bald eine große* ‘a young sow will become a big one soon’ illustrate the heritage from generation to generation and emphasizes the character of *das Ferkel* ‘piglet’ throughout its lifetime. It mirrors the behavior of a human being and shows that the environment in which one is growing up will influence the character. The neuter morphological gender of *das Ferkel* ‘piglet’ allows these zoometaphors to be applied to either a male or a female.

Das Schwein/die Sau ‘pig’ and *der Hund* ‘dog’ illustrate slovenliness and negligence of a human being as seen in *Schweine haben am Dreck mehr Lust als an sauberem Wasser* ‘pigs have more fun in the mud than in clean water’; *das Schwein fühlt sich im Dreck am wohlsten* ‘the pigs feels best in the mud’; *wenn man die Sau kitzelt, so legt sie sich in Dreck* ‘when one tickles a sow, it will lay down in dirt’; *wenn die Sau gebadet ist, legt sie sich wieder in den Dreck* ‘after bathing the pig, will lay down again’ in dirt; *Wo Hunde sind, da ist auch Hundedreck* ‘where dogs are, there is dog’s muck’. These zoometaphors not only show the physical satisfaction of being dirty or

unclean, but also the mental property of being gossipy, rude, impolite, surly, and ignorant. They also represent peoples' inability to change their character. *Ein Hund hat kein Ehregefühl* 'a dog does not possess self-respect' clearly shows a person not only being rude to others, but overstepping all possible boundaries when achieving certain goals. *Der Hund* 'dog' is a good representative for this category because despite its domestication, *der Hund* 'dog' remains an animal which is driven by instincts and reflexes. *Das Schwein* 'pig'/'*die Sau* 'sow' is seen as a very smart animal. Hungriness in this zoometaphor indicates greediness, a desire to hurt another person, an artful, treacherous, and double-dealing mind of a human.

A person's discourtesy and incivility is represented in direct comparison with an animal such as *der Hund* 'dog' and a human being in *Hunde und Herren machen keine Tür zu* 'dogs and masters/lords close no door'. *Die Fliege* 'fly' in *jede Fliege hinterlässt ein paar Maden* 'each fly leaves a couple of maggots' shows not only the rude and impolite nature of a human being, but also represents him/her as being extremely maleficent and vicious.

The bad odor of a person is illustrated through *der Fuchs* 'fox', *die Kuh* 'cow' and *der Ziegenbock* 'billy-goat', as seen in *stinken wie ein nasser Fuchs* 'to stink like a wet fox'; *stinken/riechen wie die Kuh aus dem Arschloch* 'to stink/smell like a cow from the butt hole'; *stinken wie ein Ziegenbock* 'to stink like a billy-goat'.

The unwillingness or inability to change character is represented through *das Schwein* 'pig'/'*die Sau* 'sow' and is evident in the following zoometaphors: *ein Schwein mit einem goldenen Halsband bleibt immer noch ein Schwein* 'a pig with a golden necklace is still a pig'; *was ein Schwein ist, wird in seinem Leben kein Ochse* 'who is a pig, will not become a bull'; *was kann man von einem Schwein anderes erwarten außer Grunzen?* 'What else can be expected from a pig except grunting?'

Greediness

Die Fliege 'fly', as seen in *wo Aas ist, da sind Fliegen* 'where carrion is, there are flies'; *wo Honig gibt, da sammeln sich die Fliegen* 'where there honey, the flies gather' indicates the heard instinct of a human through insects and the greediness towards the prey. *Die Mücke* 'mosquito', as in *Honig ist der Mücke Tod* 'honey is the death to a mosquito', illustrates the greediness of an animal through death, which is a reference to the loss of the feeling of fullness and measure. *Die Sau* 'sow', as in *die Sau weiß nichts wovon sie fett ist* 'a sow does not know why is she fat', shows the the lack of the sense of proportion.

Importunity

Der Floh 'flea', as in *ein Floh im Ohr macht große Beschwerden* 'a flea in ear makes a lot of trouble', shows a human's importunity. Despite the difference in size of the animal, this zoometaphor directly refers to the importunity of a human being.

Stubbornness

Der Esel ‘donkey’, as already discussed in Chapter 3, and later in Chapter 5, is the main representative in this category to refer to a very stubborn human being. Other animals besides *der Esel* ‘donkey’ which also denotes a stubborn person are *der Ochse* ‘bull’, and *die Kuh* ‘cow’.

Störrisch wie ein Esel ‘stubborn like a donkey’, *ein richtiger Ochse bleibt auf seinem Wege* ‘a real bull will remain on its path’; *er steht wie ein Ochse vor dem Berg/vor dem Tor* ‘he stands like an ox in front of the mountain/gate’; *sie steht wie eine Kuh vor dem Berg/vor dem Tor* ‘she stands like a cow in front of a mountain/gate’ all illustrate a stubborn person. The stubbornness of *der Esel* ‘donkey’, as already discussed in Chapter 3, is mainly influenced by its physical shape (the width of its hooves). *Der Ochse* ‘bull’ and *die Kuh* ‘cow’ do not exhibit any special physical characteristics. *Der Esel* ‘donkey’ and *der Ochse* ‘bull’ are mostly applied to male referents, because of the masculine morphological and semantic gender assignments, whereas *die Kuh* ‘cow’ is applied to females, because of the feminine morphological and semantic genders.

Arrogance

A wide variety of animals represent the characteristic of arrogance. *Es meint mancher, er sei ein Adler, und ist nur ein Pfau* ‘a man thinks he is an eagle, but he is only a peacock’ refers to a person who believes that he/she is much better than others than he really is. The main difference between *der Adler* ‘eagle’ and *der Pfau* ‘peacock’ is the ability to fly. *Eitel wie ein Pfau* ‘vainglorious like a peacock’; *sich spreizen wie ein Pfau* ‘to blow like a peacock’ illustrate a person being extremely stuck up for no reason. *Der Pfau* ‘peacock’ does not attract attention unless it displays its extravagant tail, which only male *peacocks* have. It represents only the outside beauty of a human being which hides the emptiness of the inside. *Wer zu hoch fliegt, verbrennt sich die Federn* ‘one who flies too high, will burn his/her feathers’ refers to an arrogant person who does not know or is not willing to understand the limits of his/her arrogance. This particular zoometaphor refers to the story of Icarus. In Greek Mythology, Icarus and his father Daedalus were imprisoned and tried to escape by fashioning a pair of wings for each of them made of feathers and wax. Icarus was warned by his father not to fly too close to the sun, as the wax would melt, nor too close to the sea, as the feather would become sodden. But overcome by the feeling that flying gave to Icarus, he came too close to the sun and the wax melted. His feathers burned and he fell into the sea, which is now known as the Icarian Sea. Although Icarus was not a bird, the ability to fly directly indicates the action of wings of the bird, which are essential to its survival.

Die Affe ‘ape/monkey’, as in *je höher der Affe steigt, je mehr er den Hinten zeigt* ‘the higher the monkey climbs, the more it shows its behind’ illustrates an arrogant, stuck-up and pompous person.

Looking into the world of insects, *die Fliege* ‘fly’ can also represent arrogance. *Auf einer Pfütze ist die Fliege ein Admiral* ‘on a puddle a fly is an admiral’ refers to an arrogant person. *Der Hahn* ‘rooster’, as in *der Hahn ist kühn/stolz auf seinem Miste* ‘the rooster is brave/proud on his own dunghill’; *der Hahn ist der König auf seinem Miste* ‘the

rooster is the king on his own dunghill', illustrate an arrogant and stuck-up person only in his/her territory.

Der Kater '[male] cat', as in *je älter der Kater, je steifer der Schwanz* 'the older the [male] cat, the more upright the tail' illustrates arrogance through experience and refers to a male person. *Je mehr man die Katze streichelt, desto höher trägt sie den Schwanz* 'the more one pets the [female] cat, the more upright will it [she] keep its [her] tail'; *Wenn man die Katze streichelt, reckt sie den Buckel* 'when one pets the [female] cat, it [she] stretches back' shows a female person being very arrogant and stuck-up.

Curiosity

Der Fuchs 'fox', as seen in *hat der Fuchs die Nase erst hinein, so weiß er bald den Leib auch nachzubringen* 'once a fox has its nose inside, so it knows to bring in the whole body', illustrates a very curious person, who sticks his/her nose inside someone else's business or private matters. The curiosity of a person is illustrated through the oblong shape of the animal's nose.

4.4. Analysis of the emotional characteristics

Anger and disagreement

Anger, same as in English, is one of the largest categories. Anger is one of the most difficult emotions to control. An active anger often is expressed through the active behavior of an animal. Humans encounter this behavior when in contact with wild animals, especially when entering their territories/living quarters. Some wild animals, such as *der Tiger* 'tiger', *der Löwe* 'lion', *der Bär* 'bear', *der Wolf* 'wolf' as well as some domestic animals/pets, such as *er Hund* 'dog', *der Bulle* 'bull' are especially cruel. This is mainly due to natural inborn instincts. *Sich wie ein Tiger auf jemanden stürzen* 'to attack somebody like a tiger' refers to a very active action of anger in either a physical way or in verbal action. The *tiger* is considered to be one of the most aggressive animals on this planet. this is mirrored in its behavior, especially when protecting their territory, fighting for authority or female affection, protecting offspring, or looking for food. *Grausam wie ein Tiger* 'cruel like a tiger'; *auch ein gefangener Löwe ist noch ein Löwe* 'even a lion in captivity is still a lion'; *je größer der Hund, je größer der Knüppel* 'the bigger the dog, the bigger the bludgeon'; *ein hungriger Wolf hat scharfe Zähne* 'a hungry wolf has sharp teeth'; *ein Hund ist ein Hund, welcher Farbe er auch hat* 'a dog is a dog, no matter what color he is'; *Bär bleibt Bär, fährt man ihn auch übers Meer* 'a bear remains a bear, even if one takes him over the seas'; *bullerig* 'bully', *wenn der Hund lacht, so weint der Haase* 'when a dog laughs, the rabbit cries'; *schau den Kampf der Tiger nur zu, wenn du auf dem Berge sitzt* 'watch the fight of the tigers only when sitting on the mountain'; *besser ein toter Löwe als ein lebendiger Hund* 'better a dead lion than a living dog'; *Bär und Petz ist eine Hetz* 'bear and bear are fomentation'; *dem bösen Hund eine kurze Leine* 'a short leash for the angry dog', all illustrate an active anger. The masculine morphological gender of these nouns also indicates the male referent of the zoometaphors. However, it is also possible to apply them to the female referent. The cultural heritage from generation to generation can be seen in *Die Löwin hat nur einen*

Jungen, aber es ist ein Löwe ‘a female lion has only one youngling, but it is a lion’. This metaphor clearly applies to a female referent because of the feminine morphological as well as semantic gender assigned to the noun *die Löwin* ‘lioness’. A female referent is also represented by *die Schlange* ‘snake’ mainly because of the morphological gender assigned to the noun. *Wer h□lt es wohl in einem Haus lange mit einer Schlange?* ‘who can withstand long in a house with a snake?’ not only illustrates the artful and treacherous behavior of a snake (discussed later in this chapter), but hidden anger as well.

There are several zoometaphors where insects and birds represent the characteristic of anger. *Böser Vogel, böses Ei* ‘angry bird, angry egg’ indicates a person being angry and aggressive and illustrates the cultural heritage, which will be passed on to younger generations from their parents. *Der Floh* ‘flea’, as in *ein Floh kann auch beißen* ‘a flea can also bite’, illustrates a person who is usually quiet and harmless, but could be aggressive and angry when provoked. The same characteristic is indicated through *das Lamm* ‘lamb’ as seen in *auch in Lamm ist Zorn* ‘even a lamb possesses anger’.

The general notion of animal *das Tier* ‘animal, beasts’ and *das Vieh* ‘cow, yahoo’ are oftentimes viewed as a category representing all possible negative characteristics of human beings. They include, but are not limited to anger, aggressiveness, laziness, stupidity, rudeness and more. This general reference refers to the behavior of a human being controlled by reflexes and instincts. The following zoometaphors illustrate this general notion of an animal expressing either active or passive anger: *der Mensch wird schneller tierisch, als ein Tier menschlich* ‘a human will sooner become an animal than an animal will become human’; *der Mensch ist das Raubtier mit den Händen* ‘the human is the predator with hands’. The neuter gender assigned to this noun in German allows it to be applied to either a male or a female referent. The direct comparison of an animal and a human being seen in these zoometaphors shows an aggressive nature of the human being. *Vieh bleibt Vieh* ‘beast remains beast’ indicates not only the anger of a human being, but also the inability of his/her character to be changed.

As already discussed in Chapter 3, anger can also be expressed in a passive manner, usually through the appearance of an animal. For example, *so ein borstiger Igel* ‘such a bristly hedgehog’ indicates an angry, surly, and sulky person. It is represented in the appearance of *der Igel* ‘hedgehog’. *Keine Katzen ohne Krallen* ‘there are no cats without claws’; *ein bissiger Hund zeigt die Zähne nicht* ‘a snappish dog does not show its teeth’; *man reizt den Hund so lange, bis er beißt* ‘one teases the dog until it bites’; *es bringt nur Unheil, einen Tiger aus dem Schlaf zu rütteln* ‘it only brings a disaster to wake up a tiger from its sleep’; *wenn die Schafe rasend wurden, sind sie schlimmer als Wölfe* ‘when sheep get frantic, they are worse than wolves’ are examples of passive anger, but with an indication of possible active action. *Der Spatz* ‘sparrow’, as in *schimpfen wie ein Spatz* ‘to scold like a sparrow’, illustrates passive anger through the sonic behavior of the bird.

Generic anger can also be expressed through animals, which live in a natural herd during their lifetime. *Schlafende Hunde soll man nicht wecken* ‘one shall not awaken sleeping dogs’ indicates a group of people being aggressive and ready to take action if needed. *Der Bär* ‘bear’, as in *auch junge Bären brummen schon* ‘even young bears growl’, is also a passive rather than active indication, and it applies to a larger group of people. *Wilde Bären muss man nicht ins Haus begehren* ‘one shall not invite wild bears

into the house' indicates humans being not only angry and ready to fight, but also artful and treacherous and not worthy of trust. *Die Schlange* 'snake', as in *zahme Schlangen haben auch Gift* 'pet snakes also have poison', shows a human being to be not only angry, but also treacherous and artful. *Die Schlange* 'snake' is one of the most dangerous animals on this planet. It does not possess the greatest body strength or the greatest intelligence, but can have deadly venom in their fangs, which can kill even the biggest animals. *Die Fliege* 'fly' as in *auch Fliegen haben ihre Galle* 'even flies have bile' indicates an angry person ready to take action when provoked. *Die Mücke* 'mosquito', as in *hungrige Mücken beißen schlimm* 'hungry flies bite badly', illustrates the small size of an animal, but an extensive ability to harm. Although all so-called generic metaphors mentioned in this paragraph, have reference to the group of animals and can be applied to a group of people, they can also be applied to only one person.

Disagreement is usually represented as a relationship of either two animals of the same kind, such as *der Hund* 'dog', *die Katze* 'cat', *der Hahn* 'rooster', or two animals of different kinds, such as *der Hund* 'dog' and *die Katze*. *Wie ein Hund und Katze leben* 'to live like a dog and cat'; *wie Hund und Katze sich vertragen* 'to tolerate each other like dog and cat'; *bei Hunden und Katzen ist Beißen und Kratzen* 'you get biting and mauling among dogs and cats'; *die leben wie Hund und Katze, haben wenig zu Tisch, aber viel zu kratzen* 'they live like dogs and cats, have not much food, but a lot of mauling' represent two animals of a different kind living under one roof or in one territory and fighting for their rights. It clearly illustrates human behavior towards one another. *Ein Knochen und zwei Hunde geben keine ruhige Stunde* 'one bone and two dogs will not give you quiet for a moment'; *zwei Hähne auf einem Mist vertragen sich nicht* 'two roosters on one muck do not tolerate each other' illustrate two animals of the same kind representing the characteristic of disagreement between two human beings.

Happiness

Ein lustiges Huhn 'a funny rooster'; *ein lustiger Vogel sein* 'to be a cheerful bird' refer to the happiness and cheerful nature of a person. Both of these metaphors illustrate birds because of their sonic characteristics as well as flying and jumping as a way of movement. Despite the assigned morphological gender to the nouns, they both could be applied to either a male or a female referent.

Gentleness and innocence

Das Lamm 'lamb' and *das Schaf* 'sheep' represent gentleness and innocence in German. It is directly indicated through the adjectives, such as *lammfromm* 'meek as a lamb', *sanft wie ein Lamm* 'soft as a lamb', *sanft wie ein Schaf* 'soft like a sheep'. This is mainly because of the softness of the fur of a *lamb/sheep* and their mild character. *Lamb* is also a symbol for innocence, as in *unschuldig wie ein Lamm* 'innocent like a lamb'.

Wo man die Katze streichelt, da ist sie gern 'a cat enjoys being where it is petted' also resembles softness, but in a more treacherous and selfish manner. Although its fur is as soft as the fur of *das Lamm* 'lamb', its character is not as innocent as one might assume. *Die Katze* 'cat' has paws with sharp nails. A human being, who is compared to *die Katze* 'cat' as in this zoometaphor, denotes the characteristics of softness and

gentleness, but not the innocence. This metaphor also reveals the dual nature of certain human beings who should be handled with care and caution in order not to provoke unwanted behavior.

Weakness, tiredness and fatigue

Similar to English, this category illustrates animals such as *der Hase* 'rabbit', *die Maus* 'mouse', *das Lamm* 'lamb', which refer to a timid person. One of the main representatives is, as expected, *der Hase* 'rabbit' as in *Schrecken jagt den Hasen aus dem Busch* 'scare drives the rabbit out of the bushes'. Fear and tiredness can also be indicated through certain body parts of the animal. *Ein Hasenhertz haben* 'to have rabbit's heart', *das Glück hilft keinem Hasenfuß* 'luck will not help a rabbit's foot' indicate a very fearful person. *Je furchtsamer das Tier, desto schneller läuft es* 'the more fearful the animal, the faster it runs' does not directly mention the animal, but refers to a general escape of the danger.

Wenn die Katze heult, fassen die Mäuse Mitleid 'when the cat howls, mice are grasped by pity' and *wenn der Löwe brüllt, zittert der Wald* 'when a lion roars, the forest shakes' indicate a certain kind of relationship among animals which is reflective of human society. The first metaphor indicates the relationship between *die Katze* 'cat' and *die Maus* 'mouse' and illustrates a fearful human being who is afraid of someone higher in position or older in age, or stronger in physical power. *Der Löwe* 'lion' is considered the king of all animals and denotes a human being who is seen as the biggest fear to all. *Das Lamm* 'lamb', as in *wenn der Löwe schläft, ist das Lamm der König* 'when the lion sleeps, the lamb is king', also illustrates the relationship between two unequal physical and mental powers. It carries the meaning of one person being afraid of another, but trying to act brave and bold when the former person is not present. *Zu Hause ein Löwe, draußen ein Lamm* 'the lion at home, the lamb outside'; *mancher heißt Wolf, und ist ein Schaf* 'one calls himself a wolf, but is a sheep' show the chicken-hearted person, who pretends to be brave and bold in one situation, but is timid and weak-kneed. All of these zoometaphors could be applied to both male and female referents despite their age or gender distinction.

Die Fliege 'fly' as in *matt sein wie eine Fliege* 'to be tired like a fly' refers to a person who is physically very tired. It mostly indicates a physical rather than mental tiredness. *Der Hund* 'dog', as *müde wie ein Hund sein* 'to be tired like a dog', has a similar reference as that of *die Fliege* 'fly'. This zoometaphor can be understood through the vagabond life of *der Hund* 'dog'. The constant physical motion exhausts both an animal and a human being. Adjectives such as *hundsmiserabel* 'miserable like a dog', *hundeeelend* 'pitiful like a dog'; *hundemüde* 'tired like a dog' all indicate the human feeling tired.

Der Ochse 'ox' as in *müde Ochsen treten hart* 'tired oxen tread hard' also indicates physical tiredness of a human being. *Der Ochse* 'ox', as another working animal on a farm, performs many of physical tasks. This could also be applied to the state of a human, where the tiredness plays an essential role in an emotional state leading a human being toward anger, intolerance and aggression.

Roughness

Physical as well as mental roughness is indicated in *freches Schwein* 'saucy pig'. This zoometaphor illustrates a saucy, insolent, rough, brute and gruff human, regardless of the gender because of the neuter morphological gender assigned to the noun *das Schwein* 'pig'.

Pride

Der Hund 'dog', as in *der Hund ist daheim am stolzesten* 'the dog is the proudest at home'; *der Hund ist keck in eigenem Haus* 'the dog is bold in its home' indicate a person being proud of his/her achievements, as well as being comfortable for what he/she is. *Der Pfau* 'peacock', as in *stolz wie ein Pfau* 'proud like a peacock', also indicates a very proud person. This zoometaphor includes the characteristics of arrogance and rudeness. In the natural environment, wild or domestic, the male peacock flares out its feathers when trying to get the attention of females. In the human world, this could be applied to a human being who is trying to show off in front of others to impress or achieve certain goals, which mostly is done with some level of aggression as well of arrogance. The flaring of the tail illustrates the shiny surface of a persons's personality and the emptiness inside. *Der Truthahn* 'turkey', as in *stolz wie ein Truthahn* 'proud like a turkey-cock', refers to a male person because of the morphological gender assignment. Similar to *der Pfau* 'peacock', this zoometaphor indicates not only a person's pride, but a certain level of aggressiveness and arrogance. In a natural environment, there is usually one *turkey-cock* per flock, which controls the female *turkeys* and exhibits aggressive protective behavior.

Death

Die Fliegen 'flies' as in *sterben wie die Fliegen* 'die like flies'; *umfallen wie die Fliegen* ,fall/die like flies' refer to a group of people dying at the same time, which usually is possible in a situation of war or epidemic illnesses. It can also refer to a human's sudden and unexpected death. *Die Fliegen* 'flies' are very small insects which surround humans in most climates and are known for being importunate. In their natural environment, they usually do not live longer than one day. Because of their small size, they can also be killed quickly as well as in large numbers.

4.5. Analysis of the intellectual characteristics

Stupidity

One of the major representatives in this category in German is *der Esel* 'donkey'. Here are some of the zoometaphors to illustrate the stupidity through *der Esel* 'donkey': *Jeder Esel kann den Takt schlagen, aber Musik machen, das ist schwierig* 'each donkey is capable of keeping the beat, but to make music is more complicated'; *Mensch, dein Name ist Esel!* 'Man, your name is donkey!'; *ein Esel ging in die Fremde und ein Esel kam heim* 'a donkey went away, a donkey came back'; *der Esel nennt sich selbst zuerst* 'a donkey

calls himself first'; *ein Esel hat überall Vetter* 'a donkey has cousins everywhere'; *Ein Esel nennt den anderen Longohr* 'one donkey calls another long-ear'; *Es ist ein Esel, der mit einem Esel streitet* 'only a donkey fights with a donkey'; *was man dem Esel predigt, ist verloren* 'what is preached to the donkey, is lost'; *ein unwissender Fürst ist ein gekrönter Esel* 'an ignorant ruler is a crowned donkey'; *den Esel kennt man bei den Ohren und bei den Worten den Toren* 'a donkey is recognized by his ears and a fool by his words'; *eselig/eselhaft* 'asinine'. All of these zoometaphors apply to a stupid person who is not capable of making decisions, who does not improve mentally. In most cases, because of the masculine grammatical gender assigned to this noun, all of the above mentioned metaphors are applied to male referents. However, *der Esel* 'donkey' also is a general reference to this kind of animal and can also be applied to female referents.

Another characteristic which also shows the stupidity of a human being through *der Esel* 'donkey' is illustrated through its willingness to be a *scapegoat*. This clearly refers to a stupid person who could easily be pushed over by others. Most of these zoometaphors illustrate not only the stupidity of *der Esel* 'donkey', but also its positive qualities, which are often overlooked as well as abused by others. *Der Gutwillige wird Gemeindeesel* 'a good-natured person becomes the community donkey'; *der Gemeindeesel hat viel zu tragen* 'a community donkey has a lot to carry'; *einem willigen Esel packt jeder auf* 'everyone loads onto a willing donkey'; *auf einem geduldigen Esel schlägt alles ein* 'everything strikes the patient donkey'; *wer sich zum Esel macht, der muss Säcke tragen* 'whoever makes himself a donkey, must carry the sacks' refer to a willing, good-natured, less experienced, patient and trustful person, whose good characteristics are abused by others, more experienced and smarter.

Der Bulle/der Ochse 'bull/ox', *der Hahn* 'rooster', *der Hund* 'dog' represent a stupid male, as seen in *dumm wie ein Ochse* 'stupid as a bull'; *was weiß Ochs vom Sonntag* 'what does the ox know about Sunday', *so ein Ochse* 'such an ox bull'; *von etwas soviel verstehen, wie der Hahn vom Eierlegen* 'to understand as much about something as a rooster understands about laying eggs'; *nur ein dummer Hund jagt dem fliegenden Vogel nach* 'only a stupid dogs chase after the flying bird'; *im Stall ist der Hund am dümmsten* 'a dog is the most stupid in the barn'.

A stupid female is often seen as *das Schaf* 'sheep', as in *ein gutmutiges Schaf sein* 'to be a good-natured sheep'. It also carries the meaning of a *scapegoat*. *Die Sau* 'sow', *die Gans* 'goose', and *die Kuh* 'cow' all carry feminine morphological gender and also refer to a stupid female, as in *was weiß die Sau vom Sonntag* 'what does a pig understand about Sunday'; *die Gans* 'goose'; *die dumme Gans* 'the stupid goose', *wehe die Gans, die dem Fuchs traut* 'woe to the goose that trusts the fox'; *von etwas soviel verstehen wie die Kuh vom Radfahren/Schachspielen/Sonntag* 'to understand something so much as the cow understands about riding a bike/playing chess/Sunday'.

The stupidity of one or more people can be seen through *das Pferd* 'horse' as in *das Denken soll man den Pferden überlassen, sie haben die größeren Köpfe* 'one should leave thinking to the horses, they have bigger heads'. *Das Pferd* 'horse' has a big head, but a small brain. *Es gibt viele Hunde, die Pudel heißen* 'there are many dogs that are called poodles' could also be applied either to one referent or to a group of people. All breeds of dogs have certain characteristics. *Der Pudel* 'poodle' is known for its friendliness, being easily trainable, trusting and obeying commands. They do not have their own personality nor expected aggressiveness, as other kinds of dogs do, and therefore

are depicted as being stupid. *Dumm wie ein Schaf* ‘stupid as a sheep’; *er ist ein rechtes Schaf* ‘he is a true fool’; *das Schaf vertraut nur dem, der ihm die Kehle durchschneidet* ‘a sheep trusts only the one who cuts its throat’; *ein dummes Schaf, das sich dem Wolf anvertraut* ‘a stupid sheep, who trusts the wolf’; *machst du dich selbst zum Schaf, so beißen dich die Hunde* ‘if you make a sheep of yourself, the dogs will bite you’ illustrate a stupid and credulous person regardless of gender. *Pazifisten sind wie Schafen: sie glauben, der Wolf sei Vegetarier* ‘pacifists are like sheep: they believe the wolf to be a vegetarian’ not only indicates the stupidity of a person, but it also assigns this stupidity to a certain group of people. *Das Schaf* ‘sheep’ is frequently treated as a very stupid animal, it does, however, exhibit a certain level of intelligence. *Das Schaf* ‘sheep’ is able to remember its name. They are considered as being stupid mostly because of their timid and panic-like behavior. The generational as well as heritage relationship between the *das Schaf* ‘sheep’ and *das Lamm* ‘lamb’ and the application of stupidity to both of these animals is clearly indicated in *ein gutes Lamm, ein dummes Schaf* ‘a good lamb, a stupid sheep’. *Kalb Moses* ‘the calf of Moses’ illustrates another youngling as being without experience and therefore stupid. It can be applied to either a male or a female. *Das Huhn* ‘chicken’ is representative of a stupid person regardless of gender as in *ein dummes Huhn* ‘a stupid chicken’.

Similar as in the category of anger, *das Vieh/das Tier* ‘an animal/cow/’ in its general meaning is used to describe a stupid person as well. *Das dummmste Vieh schreit am lautesten* ‘the most stupid animal/cow/ screams the loudest’ refers, because of the neuter morphological gender, to either a stupid male or a female, or to a whole group of people.

Only a few wild animals represent stupidity. *Der Rabe* ‘raven’, as in *ein weißer Rabe* ‘a white raven’ and *der Hase* ‘rabbit’, as in *mein Name is Haase, ich weiß von nichts* ‘my name is rabbit, I know nothing’ illustrate a stupid person.

The next group of metaphors does not indicate stupidity in its direct meaning, but rather through the stupid or spastic behavior of an animal. *Kluge Hühner legen auch in die Nesseln* ‘clever chickens also lay eggs in the nettle’; *auch kluge Hühner scheißen sich ins Nest* ‘even smart chickens poop in their nest’; *schlaue Füchse werden auch gefangen* ‘even smart foxes will be caught’; *gescheite Hähne frisst der Fuchs auch* ‘smart hens will also be eaten by the fox’; *alte Mäuse gehen auch in die Falle* ‘old mice also fall into the trap’ resemble the stupid and careless behavior of a smart person. Two different characteristics are represented through *der Fuchs* ‘fox’: one being a victim, the second being a winner. Despite that, they both indicate a person being smart, but capable of making mistakes.

Artfulness and treachery

Similar to English, German exhibits a wide variety of animals, that represent the artfulness and treachery of a human being. Three major representatives in this group are *der Fuch* ‘fox’, *der Wolf* ‘wolf’ and *der Hund* ‘dog’ which belong to the Canidae family⁵⁰. They all are known for being treacherous, willful and cunning. Other animals, included in this category are *der Löwe* ‘lion’, *die Schlange* ‘snake’, *der Raubvogel* ‘bird

⁵⁰ The Canidae family members and include animals such as dogs, wolves, foxes, coyotes, and dingoes. See Chapter 3 for more information.

of prey', *der Luchs* 'lynx', *die Katze* 'cat', *der Rabe* 'raven', *der Maulwurf* 'mole', *der Wurm* 'worm', *die Fliege* 'mosquito' and *die Laus* 'louse'.

Entferne nie den listigen Fuchs aus deiner Nähe 'never let a treacherous fox out of your sight'; *alte Füchse, alte List* 'old foxes, old treachery'; *bei Füchsen muss man listig sein* 'one must be treacherous amongst fox'; *den Fuchs muss man mit Füchsen fangen* 'a fox must be caught with the help of foxes'; *listig wie eine Schlange* 'treacherous like a snake'; *wenn der Fuchs Gänse fangen will, so wedelt er mit dem Schwanz* 'when a fox wants to catch the geese, it wags with its tail' directly illustrate the treacherous nature of a human being through the main characteristic of *der Fuchs* 'fox' and *die Schlange* 'snake'. The masculine morphological gender of *der Fuchs* 'fox' applies to the male referent of the zoometaphor, but when used in the plural, namely *die Füchse* 'foxes', it can be applied to either a male or a female. A similar situation can be also seen through *die Schlange* 'snake', where its feminine morphological gender applies to a female referent when used in the singular, but the plural form *die Schlangen* 'snakes' can apply generically, that is to a larger group of people of both genders.

Humans usually experience the characteristics and behavior of wild animals through the short contact they encounter while trespassing through their territories and experiencing their artfulness/treachery in their own backyards. The false and willful nature of a human being is expressed through equalization of two animals of unequal behavioral characteristics, such as *der Fuchs* 'fox' and *der Hase* 'rabbit', *der Wolf* 'wolf' and *das Schaf* 'sheep', *der Maulwurf* 'mole' and *der Luchs* 'lynx', *die Schlange* 'snake' and *die Taube* 'dove/pigeon', as seen in *man kann nicht Fuchs und Hase zugleich sein* 'one can not be a fox and a rabbit at the same time'; *ein Wolf im Schafpelz* 'a wolf in sheep's clothing'; *Wölfe im Schafspelz erkennt man daran, dass sie ungeschoren bleiben* 'one recognizes wolves in sheep's clothing because they remain unshorn'; *aus der Liebe frisst der Wolf das Schaf* 'a wolf eats sheep out of love'; *in der schönsten Haut steckt die gefährlichste Schlange* 'the most beautiful skin hides the most dangerous snake'; *zu Hause ein Maulwurf, draußen ein Luchs* 'at home a mole, outside a lynx'; *schmeichelnd kitzelt die Schlange, wo sie sticht* 'flutteringly the snake tickles, where she will sting'; *eine Schlange legt kein Taubenei* 'a snake will not lay pigeon egg'. Because two different behavioral manners of animals are combined in these zoometaphors, they can be a general reference to either a male or a female referent.

Den Fuchs muss man mit Füchsen fangen 'a fox must be caught with the help of foxes' indirectly denotes the behavior which is required for dealing with a guileful person. *Der Rabe* 'raven' and *der Fuchs* 'fox', as in *dem Raben auf dem Dach und dem Fuchs vor der Tür ist nicht zu trauen* 'one shall not trust the raven on the roof and the fox in front of the door', shows two different animals, but with the same characteristic, and illustrate the person not worthy of trust. Knowing the bay-like nature of *der Hund* 'dog', *der Wolf* 'wolf' and *der Raubvogel* 'raptor', metaphors such as *stumme Hunde und stille Wasser sind gefährlich* 'mute dogs and quiet waters are dangerous'; *den Hund schickt man nicht nach Bratwürsten* 'nobody sends the dog after sausages'; *den Wölfen soll man kein Schaf anvertrauen* 'one shall not trust the sheep to the wolves'; *je leiser der Flug, desto gefährlicher die Raubvögel* 'the quieter the flight, the more dangerous the raptors'; *Raubvögel singen nicht* 'the raptors don't sing'; *aus einem Wolf wird kein Lamm* 'a wolf will never become a lamb' also represent the guileful character of a human being who is

not only unworthy of trust, but also pretends to hide his/her characteristics in order to fool and mislead others.

The extremely trustless nature in a woman is represented through *die Schlange* 'snake' and *die Katze* 'cat', as seen in *eine Schlange am Busen nähren* 'to raise a snake at the breast'; *wer eine Schlange aufzieht, dem wird mit Gift belohnt* 'who raises a snake, will be rewarded with poison'; *die Schlange sticht ungereizt* 'the snake stings without provocation', *erst leckt die Katze, dann krallt sie* 'the cat licks first, then claws'. Such metaphors clearly indicate the unthankful and willful behavior of a woman because of the feminine morphological gender assigned to *die Schlange* 'snake' and *die Katze* 'cat'.

The *fox* is considered to be the master of artfulness and treachery and is usually portrayed as the smartest animal among both wild and domestic animals. *Was der Löwe nicht kann, das kann der Fuchs* 'what the lion is not capable of, the fox is' clearly illustrates this relationship as well as the intelligence of *fox* in comparison with other animals, but not always humans, as in *der schlaueste Fuchs findet seinen Kürschner* 'the smartest fox finds its furrier'. The treacherous and artful nature, as well as the aggressiveness, of a human being is expressed in *der Mensch ist dem Menschen ein Wolf* 'man is a wolf to man'. It not only indicates the lack of trust between people, but also their aggressiveness and competitiveness with each other, which is illustrated through the cruel world of wild animals that struggle to survive. The guileful and aggressive nature of a human being is also seen through the behavior of *der Löwe* 'lion', as in *mit dem Löwen ist nicht gut Beute teilen* 'it is not good to share the goods with the lion' and because of plural form of the noun used in this metaphor, this is also an illustration of generic aggressiveness as well as treachery.

The passing of artfulness and treachery from generation to generation is also noted in zoometaphors such as *an dem Füchlein siehst du schon, dass er eines Fuchses Sohn ist* 'one can already note in the little fox that he is the son of the fox'; *aus jungen Füchsen werden alte* 'young foxes become old ones'. Because of the neuter morphological gender and diminutive form of *das Füchlein* 'little fox' as well as plural form of *der Fuchs* 'fox', these zoometaphors can be applied to either a male or a female. The impossibility of the change of treacherous and artful character is illustrated in the following zoometaphors: *der Wolf ändert sein Haar, aber nicht seine Art* 'a wolf changes its hair, not its character'; *der Wolf wird wohl alter, aber nicht besser* 'a wolf will become older, but not better'.

Some small insects, such as *die Laus* 'louse', *der Floh* 'flea', and *die Fliege* 'mosquito' indicate the treacherous, guileful and willful nature of a human being as well. *Ein Floh in der Schlafmatte ist schlimmer als ein Löwe in der Wüste* 'a flea in the bed-mat is worse than a lion in the desert'; *besser ein Löwe als tausend Mücken* 'better a lion than a thousand mosquitoes' indicate the difference between various kinds of treachery and artfulness. The hidden characteristics of treacherous and guileful people are presented through *der Floh* 'flea' and *die Laus* 'louse', which are small in size, but numerous in quantity. *Man braucht niemanden Läuse in den Pelz zu setzen, sie kommen von selbst darein* 'nobody needs to put a louse into someone's fur, they come on their own' is also an indication of a smart, but extremely artful and willful person, who works by ambush and is not worthy of trust.

A thievish nature is closely connected with the artful and treacherous nature of a human being. This is illustrated through the relationship of two different animals where

one is the nourishment source for another, such as *die Katze* ‘cat’ and *die Maus* ‘mouse’, as in *die Katze lässt das Mäuschen nicht* ‘the cat will not release the little mouse’. The thievish character of *der Fuchs* ‘fox’ can be seen in *hat der Fuchs die Nase erst hinein, so weiß er bald den Leib auch nachzubringen* ‘had the fox first stuck its nose inside, it knows to bring its whole body soon’. This zoometaphor not only illustrates the thievish nature of a human being, but also his/her curiosity and persistence. *Er stiehlt wie ein Rabe* ‘he steals like a raven’ shows the action of stealing. *Der Rabe* ‘raven’ is known for trying to steal items from other animals, especially food. In most environments, they are one of the bigger birds, larger than most others, and possess great physical strength as well as a very aggressive character.

A liar and backstabbing person is represented through *der Hund* ‘dog’ and *der Wolf* ‘wolf’ as in *ein krummer Hund* ‘crooked dog’; *heimlich, das ist der Hunde Art* ‘secretly, that is the dog’s way’; *nur Geduld, sagt der Wolf dem Esel* ‘patience, says the wolf to the donkey’ and mainly applies to male referents because of the masculine gender assigned to the nouns. A more general approach to artfulness/treachery is indicated in *jedes Paradies hat eine Schlange* ‘each paradise has a snake’, *am schönsten Apfel sitzt ein Wurm* ‘there is a worm in the most beautiful apple’; *jedes Holz hat seinen Wurm* ‘each wood has its worm’.

From the metaphors discussed in this category, it is clear that all of the animals except one (*der Hund* ‘dog’ that represents artfulness and treachery) are wild animals.

Experience and cleverness

The characteristic of experience, as already mentioned in the discussion about the metaphors of English, is closely related to the age of an animal, which often corresponds with the age of a person. However, it can also be related to the outstanding mind and experience of a human being. The indication of age in the following zoometaphors allows them to be applied to either a male or a female referent regardless of morphological gender of the noun.

Je älter der Vogel, je fester sitzen die Feder ‘the older the bird, the stronger lay the feathers’; *alte Vögel lassen sich nicht gern rupfen* ‘old birds do not like to be plucked’, *alte Vögel sind nicht leicht zu fangen* ‘old birds are not easily caught’ indicate experience through age. *Der Ochse* ‘bull’, as in *alte Ochsen gehen hart* ‘old bulls walk hard’; *ein alter Hase sein* ‘to be an old rabbit’; *kein heuriger Hase sein* ‘not to be a newborn rabbit’, are illustrations of an experienced human being. As expected, *der Fuchs* ‘fox’ represents an experienced and clever human being as well. *Ein alter Fuchs lässt sich nicht prellen* ‘an old fox will not allow itself to be screwed’; *alte Füchse gehen nicht in die Falle* ‘old foxes do not end up in a trap’; *der Hund* ‘dog’ as in *alter Hund macht gute Jagd* ‘the old dog serves well during hunt’; *mit alten Hunden ist die sicherste Jagd* ‘the hunt is the safest with the old dogs’, show the experience through age as well as the trust and respect towards a more experienced person. *Der Ochse* ‘bull’ as in *alte Ochsen haben steife Hörner* ‘old bulls have stiff horns’; and *alte Ochsen machen gerade Furchen* ‘old bulls make straight furrows’, also refer to an experienced person through older age as well as through external appearance.

Die Kuh ‘cow’, as in *man wird alt wie eine Kuh und lernt immer noch dazu* ‘one grows old as a cow, but still learns something new’ shows the ability of an older person

to stimulate the brain. But the age indication in the zoometaphor can also illustrate the decline in mental abilities of a human being. *Der Hund* 'dog', as in *ein alter Hund lernt keine Kunststücke* 'an old dog does not learn any tricks', illustrates the incapacity of a human's brain to learn new things at an older age.

Injuries of an animal contribute greatly to the characteristic of experience. *Getroffene Hunde bellen* 'injured dogs bark'; *man kann nur auch einem Ochsen die Haut nur einmal abziehen* 'one can only skin a bull once' illustrate the experience of a human being through certain events or incidents during their lifetime which contributed to a higher level of intelligence through such experience.

Wilde Füllen werden muntere Pferde 'wild foals will become sturdy horses' shows the journey of a person from his/her childhood gaining experience and knowledge throughout their lives. The indication of wildness in this zoometaphors strengthens the notion of greater experience throughout the lifetime.

The *Fox* is known not only for being one of the most treacherous and cunning animals, but also for being one of the smartest as well. *Der Fuchs kennt mehr als ein Loch* 'the fox knows more than one hole' indicates the brilliant mind of a human being, thinking outside the box as well as being open-minded and intelligent. *Sei Fuchs mit dem Fuchs* 'be a fox with the fox' suggests treating a smart and artful person the way he/she is treating another. *Einen schlauen Fuchs fängt man nicht zweimal in derselben Falle* 'a smart fox will not be caught twice in the same trap'; *der Fuchs geht nicht zum zweitenmal ins Garn* 'the fox does not go into the trap twice' indicate the person's mental ability directly as being smart as well as learning experience through certain events in life. *Ein Schlaufuchs kann auch auf einem Löwen reiten* 'a smart fox can ride the lion'; *was der Löwe nicht kann, das kann der Fuchs* 'the fox is capable of what the lion is not' speak about the great mental abilities of the human being in terms of his/her relationship to other humans. *Der Hund* 'dog', as in *der Hund wedelt nicht umsonst mit dem Schwanz* 'the dog does not wag its tail for nothing'; *ein kluger Hund bellt nicht ohne Grund* 'a smart dog does not bark without the reason'; *ein alter Hund bellt nicht umsonst* 'an old dog does not bark for nothing', illustrate the experience and cleverness of a human. *Seid daher klug wie die Schlangen und arglos wie die Tauben* 'be as smart as snakes and good-natured as doves': *Wo eine Schlange ein Loch gebohrt hat, weiß sie auch einen Weg* 'where a snake has dug a hole, she also knows the way' represent the mental ability of a human being through the mental ability of an animal. *Die Schlange* 'snake' is best known for being a treacherous and artful predator. *Nicht jeder Ochse trägt ein Joch* 'not every ox carries a yoke' shows a very positive characteristic of a human being which is illustrated through the mental ability of an animal. *Bull/ox*, as seen earlier, indicates mainly a stupid person. On the other hand, in the context provided in the latter zoometaphors, it can also refer to a smart person. *Eine kluge Maus weiß mehr als ein Loch* 'a smart mouse knows more than a hole' also indicates a clever person. Because of a general reference to the animal in these zoometaphors, they can be applied to either male or female referents.

Inexperience

Not surprisingly, the characteristic of inexperience is also indicated through the age of an animal as well as through the actual character and behavior of an animal. *Das*

Pferd 'horse' as in *das Pferd kennt seine Stärke nicht* 'the horse does not know its own strength', refers to a person, who, most likely, has enough experience, but does not understand it and does not use it to his/her advantage. Because of the masculine semantic gender, it is often used to illustrate a male rather than a female.

Es kommt einer Ratte teuer zu stehen, einer Katze am Schwanz zu nagen 'the rat pays a lot to tease the cat on the tail'; *die Ratte weiß viel, aber die Katze noch mehr* 'the rat knows a lot, but the cat knows more' illustrate the difference in experience between the two people. The age indication of an animal as a reference to inexperience is seen in *junge Mäuse sind der Katzen Spiel* 'young mice are the toys of cats'; *ein junger Vogel sein* 'to be a young bird'; *ein junger Vogel wird gleich gefangen* 'a young bird will be caught immediately'; *junger Hund muss beißen lernen* 'a young dog must learn to bite'. Because of such general reference to the age of an animal these zoometaphors can be applied to either a male or a female referent.

Another reference to the young age of an animal is illustrated not through the use of the adjective *jung* 'young', but through the noun which clearly represents the younger animal, such as *das Kalb* 'calf' and *das Ei* 'egg', as seen in *ein Kalb will oft klüger sein als die Kuh* 'the calf wants to be smarter than the cow'; *das Ei will klüger sein als die Henne* 'the egg wants to be smarter than the hen'. These zoometaphors directly indicate the difference between the older and younger generations. Because of the neuter morphological genders assigned to *das Kalb* 'calf' and *das Ei* 'egg', these two metaphors can be used as a general reference to either a male or a female referent or even to illustrate the larger group of inexperienced people irrespective of their genders.

4.6. Tables of characteristics of animals in German

Table 4.6.1 illustrates somatic characteristics of animals and table 4.6.2 illustrates behavioral, emotional and intellectual characteristics of animals in German.

5. Lithuanian

Der Mensch ist dem Menschen ein Wolf
(A man is a wolf to a man)
Titus Maccius Plautus, *Eselskomödie*

5.0. Introduction to the socio-geographic setting

The Republic of Lithuania is located in Eastern Europe with Latvia to the north, Belarus to the southeast, Poland and the Kaliningrad District to the southwest and the Baltic Sea along the south-eastern shore. The population is 3.4 million people. Its largest city is the capital of Lithuania, Vilnius, with a population of almost 850,000 inhabitants.

Throughout the centuries, Lithuania was often occupied by invaders, but during the 13th and 14th centuries it was the largest country in Europe and covered the territory of present day Belarus, Ukraine, and parts of Poland and Russia. After the Second World War, Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union and regained its independence on March 11, 1990. The Lithuanian language is considered one of the most archaic Indo-European languages.

The Lithuanian landscape is very flat, with the highest point (moraine) being around 1,000 feet (300 meters) above sea level. Lithuania has numerous lakes, and mixed forests cover around 30% of the country's territory. The climate is between maritime and continental with wet, moderate winters and summers. The temperatures in winter may reach -4 F (-20 C) and in summer 86 F (30 C).

5.1. Gender assignment in Lithuanian

The Lithuanian language exhibits five categories of gender: masculine, feminine, indefinite, neuter, and indeterminate. But only masculine and feminine can be called genders in the complete sense. Indefinite gender resides in several pronouns and in a few pejorative nouns and does not have its own inflection system. The neuter gender is also very limited in use and without declension; it is used to express the state or condition of surroundings. Only several adjectives, passive participles and some numerals have neuter gender, but not nouns. Interestingly, Lithuanian also exhibits what is called indeterminate gender. It applies to a mixed group of things including masculine and feminine genders and masculine gender is used for the whole group.

Masculine and feminine genders are strictly assigned to all nouns in Lithuanian. Lithuanian exhibits five different types of declensions. In most Lithuanian animate nouns, morphological and semantic genders coincide. Inanimate objects exhibit only morphological gender. However, there are several types of nouns where morphological and semantic gender do not coincide. For example, in nouns carrying feminine morphological gender, but semantically denoting males, such as *vaidila* 'pagan priest' or *dėdė* 'uncle'; some nouns which refer to a person of both genders, such as *modelis* 'model'; and nouns which denote either male or female, but have only morphological

gender, such as *strakalas* ‘jack-in-the-box’ (masculine), or *akiplėša* ‘impudent person’ (feminine).

All nouns discussed in this chapter refer to animate entities. Table 5.1 exhibits the division among morphological genders of those nouns. Semantic gender will be discussed when needed. A clear agreement between morphological and semantic gender of the following nouns is noted only amongst domesticated animals.

MALE		FEMALE	
Animal	Gloss	Animal	Gloss
apuokas	long-eared owl	Antis	duck
arklys/bėris	horse	Avis	sheep
asilas	donkey	beždžionė	monkey/ape
avinas	ram	Bitė	bee
balandis	pigeon	Blusa	flea
bebras	beaver	Erkė	tick
bekonas	hog	Gegutė	cuckoo
bitinas	[male] bee	Gulbė	swan
briedis	moose (elk)	Gyvatė	snake
bulius	bull	Kalė	bitch
erelis	eagle	Karvė	cow
ėriukas	lamb	Katė	cat
ežys	hedgehog	Kiaulė	pig
gaidys	rooster	kregždė	swallow
garnys	heron	Lapė	fox
jautis	ox	Meška	bear (female)
kalakutas	turkey	Musė	fly
karvelis	dove	Ožka	[female] goat
kiškis	rabbit	paukštelė	[female] bird
kranklys	raven	Pelė	mouse
kuilys (šernas)	boar	Pelėda	owl
kurmis	mole	Širšė	hornet
lakštingala	nightingale	skruzdėlė	ant
liūtas	lion	Sterna	doe
ožys	[male] goat	Utelė	louse
paukštis	bird	Vapsva	wasp
pėmpė	crane	Varna	crow
sakalas	hawk	Varlė	frog
šarka	magpie	Višta	hen
šuo	[male] dog	Žąsis	goose
vabalas	bug	Žiurkė	rat
vanagas	hawk	Žuvis	fish
varlys	[little] frog		
veršis	Calf		
vėžys	crawfish		
vieversys	Lark		
viščiukas	Chick		
vilkas	Wolf		
žvirblis	sparrow		

Table 5.1. Morphological and semantic gender of Lithuanian nouns for animals.

5.2. Analysis of somatic characteristics

The gender division in Lithuanian is very strict. English exhibits no gender assignment, except natural gender for animate objects. German exhibits feminine, masculine and neuter genders which are assigned either to animate or inanimate objects. Lithuanian exhibits feminine and masculine genders which also are assigned to animate or inanimate objects. However, when the plural form is used and usually applies to the whole group of people regardless of gender, or it could also be applied only to one person, despite his/her gender.

Overall characteristics

A well built, tall and attractive man is represented through the stature of the *arklys*, *žirgas* ‘horse’, the figure of the *sakalas* ‘hawk’, as well as through the slender body of the *bitinas* ‘male-bee’, as in *bėras žirgas lyg bitinas laibas* ‘sorrel horse like a slender male-bee’; *gražus arklys avižom šeriamas* ‘beautiful horse which is fed with oats’; *berneliai lyg sakalai* ‘youngsters like hawks’; *gražus lyg bitinas* ‘beautiful like a male-bee’. The body of the *horse* exhibits great stature, muscular physique, and graceful manner of motion. Although the actual age of the animal is not represented in the metaphor, all of these zoometaphors usually apply to a younger man.

A graceful, overall beautiful, gentle and innocent-looking woman is seen as *gulbė* ‘swan’, as in *balta kaip gulbė* ‘white like a swan’, and *stirna* ‘doe’, as in *grakšti kaip stirna* ‘graceful like a doe’. *Swan* also refers to beautiful skin. *Bitė* ‘bee’, as in *liekna kaip bitė* ‘slim like a bee’, indicates a very slim/slender woman. These zoometaphors are mostly addressed to a young woman. *Graži kaip katė nudilusiais šonais* ‘beautiful like a cat with worn-off sides’ and *pempė* ‘peewit’ illustrate an ugly-looking woman.

A very ugly-looking person is sometimes referred to as *beždžionė* ‘monkey’. *Pelėda* ‘owl’ also denotes an ugly-looking person, as seen in *gražink pelėdą kiek nori, vis tiek pelėda liks* ‘prettify an owl as much as you wish, it will remain an owl’; *ir pelėdai savo vaikas gražus* ‘even an owl thinks its child is beautiful’; *nors ir apuokas, bet mano vaikas* ‘even if it’s a long-eared owl, it is my child’; *pasirėdė kaip pelėda povo plunksnomis* ‘dressed like an owl in peacock feathers’. *Šuo* ‘dog’ can indicate a bad taste in clothing, as in *atrodo kaip šuo be uodegos* ‘looks like a dog without a tail’. *Degla kaip kiaulė* ‘freckled like a pig’ illustrates the spotty face or body skin of a person.

Because *varlė* ‘frog’ is a cold-blooded animal, the zoometaphor *šaltas kaip varlė* ‘cold as a frog’ refers to a person whose hands and feet are cold.

Face

A person with a very large head is described as having a *arkliška galva* ‘horse-like head’. A person who has a very small head is referred to by *žvirblis* ‘sparrow’, as in *žvirbliška galva* ‘sparrow-like head’. *Rupūžės veidu* ‘with the face of a toad’ refers to a person having a lot of pimples on the face.

Eyes

A woman with narrow-shaped eyes is described as being *katinakė* ‘cat’s eyes’, *kiauliaakė* ‘pig’s eyes’, *kurmakikė* ‘mole’s eyes’. These three zoometaphors not only indicate the shape of a woman’s eyes, but also certain behavioral characteristics, such as sneakiness and curiosity. *Kurmis* ‘mole’ refers to a sneaky and secretive man. A person with large, full eyes is described as *akys kaip karvės/veršio* ‘eyes like those of the cow/calf’. A person’s eyes that are big and shiny are referred to as *akys kaip apuoko/pelėdos* ‘eyes like those of the long-eared owl/owl’; *akys spookso kaip kiškio* ‘eyes lustrous like those of the rabbit’. Pale eyes are represented by the *ožys* ‘billy-goat’, as in *akys pabalę, it ožio* ‘pale eyes like those of the billy-goat’. This zoometaphor illustrates the emotional state of a person as well, usually anxiety and tiredness. *Bulius* ‘bull’ as in *akys raudonos kaip buliaus* ‘eyes red like those of a bull’, also indicates the emotional state, of a person, most likely anger or aggression.

A certain condition, known as strabismus, is indicated by *kiškis* ‘rabbit’, as in *žvairas, kaip kiškis* ‘cross-eyed like a rabbit.’

Similar to English and German, *sakalas* ‘hawk’ and *erelis* ‘eagle’ represent a person who has excellent vision, as seen in *sakalo/vanago akys* ‘the eyes of an hawk / eagle’.

A deep sleep is indicated in *miegoti meškos miegu* ‘to sleep in the manner of a bear’. The opposite of this, a short and troubled sleep, is described in *miega kaip zuikis* ‘sleeps like a rabbit’.

Ears

A person with very big ears is referred to as *asilo ausys* ‘donkey’s ears’. The *donkey* has ears disproportionate to the size of its face. Ears which seem to have lost their stiffness and seem to be rather saggy are referred to as *nulinę kaip kiaulės* ‘saggy like those of pig’. A person with very small ears is indicated by the ears of *pelė* ‘mouse’, as in *peliaausė* ‘mouse-ears’. A person who is always awake and watchful is described as *ausys lyg kiškio* ‘ears like those of the rabbit’. All of the metaphors mentioned in this section can be applied to either a male or female referent.

Nose

Similar to English and German, birds are the main representatives of the shape of the human nose. A very long nose is indicated in *gandro snapas* ‘stork’s beak’, *smaila kaip lapės nosis* ‘spiky like a fox’s nose’. This not only refers to the shape of the nose,

but also denotes the curiosity of a human being. A hooked nose is depicted in the shape of the nose of *erelis* ‘eagle’, *sakalas* ‘hawk’, *višta* ‘hen’, *pelėda* ‘owl’. *Antis* ‘duck’ as in *anties nosis* ‘duck’s nose’, refers to a person having a wide nose, and *arklio nosis* ‘horse’s nose’ illustrates a person having a disproportionately large nose.

Mouth, lips and voice

Lūpa kaip bėrio ‘lip like that of a sorrel’, *veršialūpis* ‘calf’s lip’ refer to the lower lip of the human being which resembles the lower lip of a *horse* and *calf*. It is thicker and plumper than the upper lip. *Arkliška/kumeliška lūpa* ‘horsy/mare lip’ is a reference to a very large-sized lips. The zoometaphor *kiškio lūpa* ‘hare’s lip’ refers to a person who has a cleft lip, because of congenital deformity (as explained in Chapter 3).

Arkliniai dantys ‘horsy teeth’ refers to very large teeth in a human being, whereas *avidantis* ‘sheep’s teeth’ speaks about a person having very small-sized teeth. *Vilkas* ‘wolf’ as in *vilko dantys* ‘wolf’s teeth’ indicates a person having very sharp teeth and illustrates the characteristic of greediness. *Aštriadantė kaip pelė/voverė* ‘sharp teeth like those of mouse/squirrel’ indicate a person having sharp teeth, and refers to a female because of the morphological feminine gender assignment to *pelė* ‘mouse’ and *voverė* ‘squirrel’. It also shows characteristics, such as chatty, bitter, and virulent. *Tavo liežuvis kaip karvės uodega* ‘your tongue is like cow’s tail’ refers to a chatty and gossipy person.

A person who has a squeaky voice is illustrated by *pelė* ‘mouse’, as in *cypia, kaip pelė kates naguose* ‘squeaks like a mouse in cat’s paws’; *varlė* ‘frog’, *cypia kaip varlė koją prispaudus* ‘squeaks like a frog with a squeezed leg’; *cypia kaip varlė rato prispausta* ‘squeaks like a frog pressed by a wheel’; *cypia kaip varlė vištos kapojama* ‘squeaks like a frog hacked by a chicken’; *gaidys* ‘rooster’, *cypia kaip gaidys vanago pešamas* ‘squeaks like a rooster pulled by the eagle’.

An unhappy and always complaining human being is indicated by *avis* ‘sheep’, as in *burba kaip avis į uodegą įkirpta* ‘mumbles like a sheep whose tail was cut’; *arklys* ‘horse’ as in *prunkščia kaip arklys* ‘snorts like a horse’; *gyvatė* ‘snake’, *šnypščia, kaip gyvatė* ‘hisses like a snake’; *žaltys* ‘grass-snake’, as in *šnypščia kaip žaltys pieno negavęs* ‘hisses like a grass-snake which did not get milk’, *arklys* ‘horse’ *šnirpščia kaip arklys* ‘sniffles like a horse’.

A quiet person could be referred to as *pelė* ‘mouse’: *tylus kaip pelė* ‘quiet like a mouse’; *tyli kaip pelė po šluota* ‘quiet like a mouse under the broom’; *atsiduso kaip pelė po šluota* ‘fetched a sigh like a mouse under the broom’. Although *mouse* in Lithuanian carries feminine gender, it can also represent a very quiet male speaker. *Žuvis* ‘fish’, as in *dainuoja kaip žuvies balsu* ‘sings with a fish’s voice’, *tylus/tyli kaip žuvis* ‘quiet like a fish’, also illustrate a person being very quiet. The overall nature of a quiet human being is represented through *ėriukas* ‘lamb’, as in *ėriukas ir vilko nešamas tyli* ‘a lamb is quiet even when carried by the wolf’.

A very loud cry of a human being is illustrated through the neigh of *arklys* ‘horse’, as in *žvengia kaip arklys* ‘neighs/laughs like a horse’; *ko žvengi kaip arklys?* ‘why are you neighing like a horse?’ A loud, but unhappy and gloomy cry of a human being is indicated through the bellow of *veršis* ‘calf’, *avinas* ‘ram’, *jautis* ‘ox’, *bulius* ‘bull’, and *apuokas* ‘long-eared owl’, as in *bliuona, kaip veršis buzos negavęs* ‘bellows like an unfed calf’; *bliuona kaip avinas* ‘bellows like a ram’; *ir baubia kaip jautis be*

darbo ‘bellows like an ox without a job’; *eina maurodamas kaip bulius* ‘walks bellowing like a bull’; *dejuoja kaip apuokas* ‘whines like a long-eared owl’. A female is represented by *avis* ‘sheep’ or *ožka* ‘goat’: *bliaina kaip avis* ‘baas like a sheep’; *avelė bliaina kol šieno negauna* ‘a sheep bahs until it gets the straw’; *ožka ir priėdusi bliaina* ‘a goat bleats even after the meal’. A loud, but rather happy person is represented by *žąsis* ‘goose’ and *vieversys* ‘lark’, as in *Krykštauja kaip antis* ‘quacks like a duck’; *gieda kaip vieversys* ‘sings like a lark’; *gieda, kaip vieversys žiogą pagavęs* ‘sings like a lark which caught a grasshopper’.

A chatty person, similar to English and German, is mostly indicated through the sounds produced by wild birds, such as *šarka* ‘magpie’ and *vieversys* ‘lark’: *čirška kaip šarka* ‘chatters like a magpie’; *gieda kaip vieversys* ‘sings like a lark’. Because of the morphological gender assignment to the noun, *magpie* refers to a woman, whereas *lark* refers to a man. *Šuo* ‘dog’ and *kalė* ‘bitch’ both represent a chatty, and at the same time, unhappy and angry male and female respectively. A man who lets his emotions out in an angry manner can be referred to as in *loja kaip šuo* ‘barks like a dog’; *loja kaip šuva ant mėnulio* ‘barks like a dog at the moon’; *loja kaip šuo mėnesienoj* ‘barks like a dog in the moonlight’. A woman with the same characteristics as a man is illustrated in *loja kaip kalė* ‘barks like a bitch’.

An indistinct speaker is represented not by one animal, but rather by a whole group of them, for example *bitės* ‘bees’, as in *ūžia, kaip bitės avily* ‘buzzes like bees in the hive’.

Hunger

The hunger of a human being is represented in *alkanas kaip šuo/vilkas* ‘hungry like a dog/wolf’. *Dogs*, as well as *wolves*, have a great appetite and are able to consume large amounts of food at once. *Alkanas šuo ir varškę ėda* ‘a hungry dog will eat even the cottage cheese’ illustrates the high level of hunger of a human being. *Dogs* are predators and scavengers and the basis of their diet is the flesh of other animals, and not products made by humans. *Ėda kaip arklys* ‘eats like a horse’; *tu kaip arklys, niekad neprivalgai* ‘you are like a horse – never full’; *ryja kaip arklys* ‘swallows like a horse’ refer to a person who is eating large amounts of food, does not chew, but rather swallows big pieces of food and does not show restraint in eating.

Size, strength and health

Didelis kaip bulius ‘big like a bull’; *bulius duris verčia* ‘a bull is demolishing the door’; *didelis kaip arklys* ‘big like a horse’; *drūtas kaip arklys* ‘squat like a horse’; *drūtas kaip asilas* ‘squat like a donkey’; *stiprus kaip jautis* ‘strong as an ox’; *stiprus kaip mulas* ‘strong as a mule’; *didelis kaip briedis* ‘big like a moose’; *stiprus kaip meška* ‘strong as a bear’; *drūtas kaip liūtas* ‘squat like a lion’ all refer to a very strong and large size male person. Because of the strict natural and morphological gender application, all of the above mentioned metaphors denote the males. A big and strong female is referred to as *karvė* ‘cow’, as in *didelė kaip karvė* ‘big as a cow’.

Several zoometaphors combine or compare the size and the strength of a human being with mental characteristics. For example, a big and strong, but stupid man is

referred to as an *ox*, *donkey*, and *moose*, as seen in *didelis kaip jautis, kvailas kaip avinas* ‘big like an ox, stupid like a ram’; *didelis kaip asilas, kvailas kaip avinas* ‘big like a donkey, stupid like a ram’; *didelis kaip briedis, o durnas kaip asilas* ‘big like a moose, but stupid like a donkey’. As seen in the first part of these zoometaphors, *jautis* ‘ox’, *briedis* ‘moose’, *asilas* ‘donkey’ are indications of the size, whereas animals such as *asilas* ‘donkey’, *avinas* ‘ram’, found in the second part of the zoometaphor, illustrate the stupidity of a human being.

A very small woman is described as *maža kaip blakė* ‘little like a bug’. *Blakė* ‘bug’ is one of the smallest species visible to the human eye. Because of the grammatical feminine gender assignment, it refers to a female. *Maža kaip vištelė* ‘small like a little chicken’, *maža kaip skruzdelė* ‘little like an ant’ also refer to a female who is small in height. Both *višta* ‘chicken’ and *skruzdelė* ‘ant’ are used in their diminutive forms to strengthen the representation of a small woman. Other animals which also indicate a slender female are *silkė* ‘herring’ as in *liekna kaip silkė* ‘thin like a herring’; *šarka* ‘magpie’, as in *sudžiuvus kaip šarka* ‘dry like a magpie’; *bitė* ‘bee’, as in *laiba kaip bitelė* ‘slender like a bee’; and *stirna* ‘doe’, as in *liekna kaip stirna* ‘slender like a doe’.

A child thin and short in height regardless of gender is referred to as *žvirblis* ‘sparrow’ and *viščiukas* ‘little chick’. A very small and thin person is illustrated by *žiogas* ‘grasshopper’ and *kėkštas* ‘jay’, as in *laibas kaip žiogas* ‘slender as a grasshopper’; *sudžiuvęs kaip kėkštas* ‘dry like a jay’.

Many domestic animals, such as *bekonas* ‘hog’, *bulius* ‘bull’, *antis* ‘duck’, and *kiaulė* ‘pig’, represent large in size man: *guli kaip bekonas* ‘one lies like a hog’; *nusipenėjo kaip bekonas* ‘got fat like a hog’; *išsipenėjęs kaip bulius* ‘obese like a bull’. A fat and overweight woman is indicated in *dikta merga kaip penima kiaulė* ‘thick bint (woman) like a well-fed pig’, *išsipenėjus kaip antis* ‘fat like a well-fed duck’.

Not only domestic animals, but also several wild species indicate an overweight person, for example *barsukas* ‘badger’, as in *išsiėdęs kaip barsukas* ‘fat like a badger’, and refer to a person with big cheeks. *Dramblis* ‘elephant’, as in *storas kaip dramblis* ‘fat like an elephant’, illustrates an overweight person in general and can be applied to both male and female.

A healthy person, regardless of gender, is indicated in *sveiks kaip žuvis* ‘healthy as a fish’, *arkliškos sveikatos* ‘to be of a horse’s health’.

Hair

Ožio barzda ‘goatee’ indicates a specific shape of men’s beard. It refers to a sharp-pointed beard, which is a typical attribute of *ožys* ‘billy-goat.’ *Apaugęs kaip ožys* ‘hirsute like a billy-goat’ indicates a hairy male body. A hairy female body is indicated by *višta* ‘hen’ in *apžėlus kaip višta* ‘hirsute like a hen’. *Apžėlę kojos, rankos, kaip meškos* ‘hirsute legs, hands like those of a bear’ refers to a hairy person, regardless of gender. *Pelė* ‘mouse’, as in *apsusęs/apsususi kaip pelės uodega* ‘scaly [male/female] like a mouse’s tail’, indicates a person who does not take care of his/her hair. *Garbanotas kaip avinas* ‘curly like a ram’ refers to a man, indicating the curls of his hair, whereas *garbanota kaip avelė* ‘curly like a little sheep’ refers to a woman. *Apuokas* ‘long-eared owl’, as in *pasišiaušęs kaip apuokas* ‘disheveled like a long-eared owl’ refers to a messy

hairstyle of a man, whereas *pasišiaušus kaip višta* ‘disheveled like a hen’ – the messy hairstyle of a woman.

Kuodas kaip pempės ‘towhead like that of peewit’ denotes the hairstyle of a woman when all the hair is put together into a tuft on the top of the head which resembles the looks of *peewit*. *Arklio karčiai* ‘horse’s mane’ refers to very long loose hair of a man or a woman. *Arklio uodega* ‘horse’s tail [ponytail]’ is a hairstyle, usually worn by a woman, where the hair is gathered at the center back of the head or the base of the neck and resembles the tail of a [pony] horse. *Sulaižė, kaip karvė verši* ‘licked like a cow licked a calf’ indicates hair which is very shiny and arranged orderly. Animals lick their offspring to clean them. It leaves them with a shiny coating of the saliva.

A person who has thin hair is referred to as *kačiaplaukiai* ‘cat’s hair’. A bald male is indicated in *nupliko kaip avies papivė* ‘got bald as a sheep’s underbelly’, *plikas kaip bimbaldas* ‘bald as a beetle’.

Color

Lithuanian uses a great variety of animals to represent the color of the skin or the hair of a human. A white/grey-haired person is indicated in *žilas/-a kaip ožys/ožka* ‘grey as a billy-goat/[female]goat’. *Baltas kaip karvelis* ‘white like a dove’; *peliaplaukis/-ė* ‘mousy-haired [male/female]’; *pilkas kaip vilkas* ‘grey like a wolf’. *Juodas kaip sakalas/sabalas/varnas/varno sparnas* ‘black like a hawk/sable/raven/raven’s wing’ indicate a male person with very dark hair. A dark-haired female is indicated by *kuosa* ‘jackdaw’, *varna* ‘crow’, and *kregždė* ‘swallow’ as seen in *juoda kaip kuosa/varna* ‘black like a jackdaw/crow’; *tamsi kaip kregždė* ‘dark like a swallow’. *Rudas/-a kaip voveraitė/voveries uodega* ‘brown [male/female] like a squirrel/squirrel’s tail’, *rudas/-a kaip lapė* ‘brown [male/female] like a fox’ refer to a brown-haired person.

Baltas/-a kaip gulbė/žqsis ‘white [male/female] like a swan/goose’ indicates the color of the skin or the hair of the human being. *Ir baltas gi kaklas bernelio, kaip kiaulės blauzdos* ‘a white neck of a youngster like the leg of the pig’ also denotes the white skin of a person. *Raudonas/-a kaip vėžys* ‘red [male/female] like a crayfish’ indicates a very red skin of a human being regardless of gender.

Motion

A fast-moving person is represented in Lithuanian by *šuo* ‘dog’, *zuikis, kiškis* ‘rabbit’, *lapė* ‘fox’, *gervė* ‘crane’, as in *šunriste eiti* ‘to walk in a manner of a running/loping dog’; *skuodžia kaip zuikis* ‘scurry like a rabbit’; *bėga kaip kiškis šunų vejamas* ‘runs like a rabbit chased by the dogs’; *greita, kaip šunų genama lapė* ‘fast like the fox chased by the dogs’; *dumia kaip kiškis iš kopūstų* ‘runs like a rabbit out of the cabbage patch’. *Eina gervės žingsniais* ‘to walk like in steps of a crane’ indicates a person moving in long strides, but not running.

A fast-moving male is often referred to as *arklys* ‘horse’ or *šuo* ‘dog’. *Eiklus kaip arklys* ‘fleet like a horse’ refers to a fast and keel moving man, with great spirit and great stamina. *Miklus kaip šuo* ‘fast like a dog’, *greitas kaip ežys rugienoj* ‘quick as a hedgehog in the rye stubble’ also indicate a fast-moving man.

Straksi kaip stirna ‘jumps like a doe’ refers to a fast-moving and nervous/restless woman. The dexterity and quickness of a woman is represented in *vikri kaip voverė/kregždė/utelė* ‘quick like a squirrel/swallow/louse’.

A slow-moving person can be indicated through the old age of an animal, as in *eina, kaip senas vilkas dvėsti* ‘moves like an old wolf on his last legs’, or through the graceless moving manner, as in *meškos eisena* ‘bear’s walk’, *grakšti kaip meška* ‘graceful as a bear’. The ungraceful movements of a person can also be seen in the following zoometaphors, where the movement of an animal is conditioned by other factors: *ir bėga, kaip meška per karklyną* ‘runs like a bear through the osier-bed’; *bėga kaip arklys paduobiais* ‘runs like a horse on the pits’; *bėga kaip arklys per ledą* ‘runs like a horse on ice’. A slow-moving male is referred to as *avinas* ‘ram’, *bulius* ‘bull’, and *briedis* ‘moose’. *Lėtas kaip avinas* ‘slow like a ram’, because of the melancholic nature of the animal, refers not only to a slow-moving man, but also indicates his slow functioning mental abilities. *Eina kaip bulius per bandą* ‘walks like a bull through the herd’ not only refers to a slow-walking male, but because of the high rank of the bull in his herd, where the majority of the animals are females, it also denotes a male looking for a female partner, which indicates the philandering nature of the male. *Eina kaip briedis išsiskėtęs* ‘walks like a moose with splayed legs’ refers to a slow-moving man through the physical shape of the legs.

A nervous/restless person is described as *blaškosi, kaip šuo blusų apsėstas* ‘flustered like a dog beseyed by fleas’. Other examples are *ieško, kaip šuva kaulo* ‘looks for something like the dog for the bone’; *laksto kaip avis be galvos* ‘runs like a headless sheep’; *šokinėja kaip avis be kepenų* ‘jumps like a sheep without kidneys’; *straksi kaip blusa po antį* ‘jumps like a flea on a duck’; *mėtos kaip blusa po kelnes* ‘scurry about like a flea in the pants’; *rangosi kaip gyvatė* ‘wiggles like a snake’. *Antis* ‘duck’, as in *eina krypuodamas kaip antis* ‘waddles like a duck’, refers to a human being whose toes are turned inwards, causing waddling.

Vėžys ‘crayfish’, as in *atbulas kaip vėžys* ‘reverse like a crayfish’, indicates a person moving either very slowly or backwards. It not only shows the physical movement, but also the character, indicating the stubbornness and intransigence of the person.

5.3. Analysis of Behavioral Characteristics

Diligence

Dirba kaip arklys/bulius ‘works like a horse/bull’, *Geras arklys neraginamas eina* ‘a good horse walks without nagging’ are references to a hard-working person regardless of gender. *Darbštus kaip žemaičio arklys* ‘diligent like a Samogitian’s horse’ refers to a hardworking male. Samogitia is an area in Lower Lithuania and is known around the country for very hard-working people. Both the diligence and the experience of a person is indicated in *jaunas arklys veža sveikata, senas – įpratimu* ‘a young horse carries with his health, an old one – because of the habit’. *Dirbu kaip jautis, valgau kaip arklys* ‘I work like a bull, I eat like a horse’ denotes the inexhaustible physical power of a human. Because of the masculine grammatical gender assigned to these nouns, these zoometaphors refer in most cases to male referents, but can also be applied to females.

A diligent and studious female is often illustrated by the diligence of several insects, such as *bitė* ‘bee’, *vapsva* ‘wasp’, *skruzdelė* ‘ant’, and *višta* ‘hen’. *Darbšti kaip skruzdelė/bitė* ‘diligent as an ant/bee’; *skruzdelė nedidelė, o kalnus nukasa* ‘an ant is not big, but is able to dig up mountains’; *bitės sunkus darbelis, bet saldus vaiselis* ‘a bee’s work is hard, but the fruits of its labor are sweet’; *darbininkė kaip bitelė* ‘working woman like a bee’; *višta besikrapštydama visada ką nors iškrapšto* ‘a hen while pecking will always find something’ all refer to a diligent and hard-working woman.

The same animals illustrating the diligence of human being can be also applied to a whole group of people regardless of gender, as in *vargstam kaip bitės avily* ‘[we] labor like bees in the hive’; *vargsta žmonelės kaip bitelės* ‘people labor like bees’.

A few animals, such as *pelė* ‘mouse’, *varna* ‘crow’, indicate diligent behavior of either male or female not only through their indefatigable behavior, but also through an early awakening, as seen in *ankstyvoji pelytė/varna dantis krapšto, o vėlyvoji - akeles* ‘an early mouse/crow picks its teeth, a late one - its eyes’.

Laziness

An early awaking is a sign of a hard-working person, whereas sleeping in is a sign of a lazy person, as in *ankstyvoji pelytė/varna dantis krapšto, o vėlyvoji - akeles* ‘an early mouse/crow picks its teeth, a latish [picks] its eyes’. *Valgo kaip arklys, o dirba kaip gaidys* ‘eats like a horse, works like a rooster’ clearly illustrates a lazy person, who is unwilling to perform any tasks, but wants to enjoy the fruits of labor of others. *Kiaulė* ‘pig’, *žaltys* ‘grass-snake’, *ožka* ‘goat’, as in the phrases *ilsisi, kaip kiaulė bulvėse* ‘rests like a pig in the potatoe patch’; *guli kaip žaltys ant saulės* ‘rests like a grass-snake in the sun’; and *palinkusį medį visos ožkos graužia* ‘all goats eat bent tree’ indicate laziness. All zoometaphors mentioned in this category can be applied to either male or female.

Drunkenness

Kiaulė ‘pig’ is the main representative in this category and can be applied to either male or female. *Girtas kaip kiaulė* ‘drunk as a pig’, *apsigėrė kaip kiaulė drigniū* ‘got drunk like the pig from henbane’ illustrate the human condition of being drunk and not being able to control oneself. Wild pigs might consume certain wild berries, such as cade berries, which contain small amounts of toxins. Henbane (in Latin *herba apollinaris*) was historically used in continental Europe and Asia and spread to England during the Middle Ages. This plant is toxic in low doses. The name of the plant comes from Anglo-Saxon *hennbana* “killer of hens”.⁵¹

Affectation

As in English and German, *beždžionė* ‘monkey’ is the major representative in this category regardless of gender. Metaphors such as *maivosi kaip beždžionė prieš veidrodi*

⁵¹ The common effects of this plant are hallucination, flushed skin, restlessness and dilated pupils. It was traditionally used in German beers as a flavoring, but the Bavarian Purity Law passed in 1516 outlawed the use of henbane and allowed only the use of hops. Henbane has also been used as an anesthetic in the first Arab hospitals. (<http://www.erowid.org/plants/henbane/henbane.shtml>)

‘acts like a monkey in front of a mirror’; *ko čia vaipais kaip beždžionė?* ‘why are you grinning like a monkey?’; *mėgdžiojas kaip beždžionė* ‘mimics like a monkey’; *maigos kaip beždžionė* ‘crumples like a monkey’ represent a human being behaving strangely, but not aggressively.

The herd instinct

As English and German indicated, *sheep* is the main representative in Lithuanian for the herd instinct, as illustrated in *kur avis, ten ir avineliai* ‘where one sheep is found, there are lambs’; *kur vienas avinas, ten ir visa kaimenė* ‘where one ram is found, there is the whole herd’.

Impudence, immorality and politeness

As English and German data already indicated, *kiaulė* ‘pig’ is the main representative in this category. The following phrases are references to impudent, dirty, immoral and presumptuous human beings: *braunas kaip alkana kiaulė iš tvarto* ‘pushes like a hungry pig out of the stable’; *įsileisk kiaulę į trobą, tai ir ant stalo užlips* ‘let the pig into the house, and it will climb onto the table’; *leisk kiaulę į bažnyčia, tai užlips ir ant altoriaus* ‘let the pig into the church and it will climb onto the altar’; *kiaulės iš bulvių neišvarysi* ‘one can not banish the pig from the potatoes’; *kiaulės padermė* ‘pig’s nature’, *muržinas/-a kaip kiaulė* ‘dirty like a pig’; *bepigu kiaule būti: nei kojas plauti, nei burną prausti, nei galvą šukuoti* ‘it is easy to be a pig: no need to wash the legs, to wash the mouth, to comb the hair’; *daro, kaip kiaulės brolis* ‘acts like a pig’s brother’. Certain human behavior can also be illustrated through the direct behavior of an animal. *Čėpsi kaip kiaulė* ‘gobbles like a pig’ refers to a person’s chewing his/her food loudly and with an open mouth.

The slatternliness and immorality of a human being can be indicated not only through the animal itself, but through certain parts of its body. These zoometaphors refer to a certain part of the human body. Such correlations are seen through *kiaulė* ‘pig’, *šuo* ‘dog’, *karvė* ‘cow’. *Kiauliasnukis* ‘pig’s snout’ clearly refers to a person’s dirty face; *paskrėtusi nosis kaip karvės pauodegis* ‘a nose as dirty as a cow’s behind’ illustrates the human’s nose being snotty; *apsileidęs kaip šuva blusom* ‘bedraggled like dog full of fleas’ refers to the generally disorderly, unclean and ragtag appearance of a person.

Karvė ‘cow’ and *avis* ‘sheep’ also can reflect immorality and slatternliness. *Susitriedusi karvė visa kaimenę apšiko* ‘a shitty cow shits onto the whole herd’; *jei karvė su šudina uodega įsimaišo tarp čystų, tai visas karves apdrobsto* ‘if a cow with a shitty tail comes among the clean ones, it will shit onto all of them’; *viena nešvari avis visą pulką teršia* ‘one dirty sheep fouls the whole flock’ show human’s behavior as being very rude, churlish, unseemly and even coarse towards other humans. It shows his/her penchant for treating others poorly and disrespectfully.

Only a few metaphors in this category exhibit direct reference to a specific gender. *Ožys* ‘billy-goat’, *arklys* ‘horse’, *veršis* ‘calf’, *jautis/bulius* ‘ox/bull’ refer to a male, as in *dvokia kaip ožys* ‘stinks like the billy-goat’; *kur arklio voliotasi, visur plaukų rasi* ‘where there was a horse, hair is found everywhere’; *ach tu veršis vienas* ‘oh you calf!’; *jautis* ‘bull/ox’. *Gegutė* ‘cuckoo’ and *karvė* ‘cow’ refer to a female, as in *atlékė*

kaip gegutė svetiman lizdan ir pridarė ‘rushed like a cuckoo into a foreign nest and pooped’.

A few zoometaphors combine several different characteristics, including slatternliness, stupidity, and endurance. *Gudrus kaip avinas, mandagus kaip degloji* ‘smart like a ram, polite like a pig’ illustrates rudeness, slatternliness and stupidity. *Esi ožio ištvermės ir kiaulės padermės* ‘you are of a billy-goat’s endurance and of a pig’s nature’ sarcastically illustrates a person’s physical weakness, rudeness and slatternliness.

An overall general reference to immoral, impudent, surly, rude, impolite, uncivil, dirty and messy human beings is often indicated with general *gyvulys* ‘animal’ or *žvėris* ‘beast’. *Beast* also carries an additional reference to aggressive behavior of a human being.

Only one item from my data illustrates a polite and clean person indicating a female person because of the feminine grammatical gender assigned to the noun: *tvarkinga kaip bitė* ‘clean like a bee’.

Greediness

A greedy and miserly person in Lithuanian is mostly seen as *arklys* ‘horse’, *vilkas* ‘wolf’, *šuo* ‘dog’, *sakalas* ‘hawk’, *utelė* ‘louse’, *musė* ‘fly’, *granys* ‘heron’, *bitė* ‘bee’, *ožys* ‘billy-goat’, *kiaulė* ‘pig’ and *katė* ‘cat’. A *horse* is the main representative in categories such as diligence and hunger. A *horse* is also one of the main representatives for a greedy and miserly human being: *Ar daug iš arklio avyžų begausi?* ‘how much oats will one receive from the horse?’ *Wolf* is seen as a representative of greediness because of its eagerness and greed when attacking its prey. *Vilko liga sirgti* ‘to have wolf’s illness’, *ėdrus kaip vilkas* ‘voracious as a wolf’ illustrate a greedy human being. *Šuo* ‘dog’ also illustrates greediness with respect to food, as in *ar rasi šunio būdoj duonos?* ‘will one find bread in a doghouse?’; *atgausi iš šuns mėsa?* ‘will one get the meat back from the dog?’; *kaip šuo ant šieno, nei pats ėda nei kitam duoda* ‘like a dog on the hay, it neither eats it, nor does not give to others’; *imdamas sakalo akis turi, atiduodamas – šunies* ‘when taking [it], one has hawk’s eyes, but when giving [it] away – dog’s. *Utelė* ‘louse’ as in *imas, kaip utelė už šašo* ‘grips like a louse onto the scab’, denotes an eager and aggressive person. *Lice* spend their entire lives on their hosts, usually animals. *Musė* ‘fly’ is another insect which can represent greediness. *Puola, kaip musė prie medaus* ‘throws himself/herself like a fly onto honey’; *ėda kaip musė medų* ‘eats like flies eat honey’ illustrate an eager and aggressive person, who is also greedy and voracious. *Ėda kaip garnys varles* ‘eats like a heron eats frogs’; *ėda kaip žaltys lukštus* ‘eats like the grass-snake eats eggshells’; *bene gausi iš katino dešra?* ‘will one ever get the sausage from the cat?’; *įjunko kaip kiaulę į žirnius* ‘gulps like a pig gulps peas’; *elgiasi kaip vilkas pas ožkas* ‘behaves like a wolf in a goat stable’; *kaip iš ožio: nei pieno nei vilnos* ‘like from a billy-goat: neither milk nor wool’ all refer to a greedy and miserly human being and can be applied to either male or female.

Greediness and miserliness can also be indicated through groups of animals (insects) of the same kind, such as *bitė* ‘bee’ and *širšė* ‘hornet’, as seen in *pristojo kaip širšės* ‘annoying like hornets’; *apspito kaip bitės* ‘surrounded by bees’ show an eager, greedy and miserly person or a whole group of individuals.

Importunity

A bothersome and officious person is illustrated in *prikibo kaip erkė* ‘stuck like a tick’; *įkyrus kaip musė* ‘importunate like a fly’; *imas kaip utelė už šašo* ‘chisels in like a louse onto the scab’; *lenda kaip vapsva* ‘climbs like a wasp’; *prilipo kaip bitė prie medaus* ‘stuck like a bee onto the honey’. *Erkė* ‘tick’, *musė* ‘fly’, *utelė* ‘louse’, *vapsva* ‘wasp’ and *bitė* ‘bee’ carry feminine grammatical gender, but in this context, they all can be applied to either a male or female referent. All of these insects connote importunate, impertinent, and obsessive behavior.

Kiaulė ‘pig’ as in *lenda kaip kiaulė į bulves* ‘climbs like a pig into the potatoes’ is the only domestic animal in this category representing a bothersome and importunate person regardless of gender.

Either one or more meddlesome people can be illustrated by the whole group of animals of the same kind. *Pristojo kaip širšės* ‘stuck like hornets’; *apspito kaip bitės* ‘surrounded like bees’; *sukasi kaip bitės aplink medų* ‘to circle like bees around honey’ all denote one or more importunate and very persistent person.

Stubbornness

The overall leader in this category, as already indicated in the sections on English and German, is *asilas* ‘donkey’. *Užsispyręs kaip asilas* ‘stubborn like a donkey’ refers to a stubborn male because of the masculine grammatical gender assigned to this noun.

Arklys ‘horse’, although mainly considered to be applied to describe diligent, hard-working and supple humans, can also denote a stubborn person, as in *užsispyręs kaip arklys su natūra* ‘stubborn like a horse with a character’; *užsispyręs kaip naravistas arklys* ‘stubborn like a masterful horse’; *spardosi kaip arklys* ‘kicks like a horse’. A stubborn female is illustrated through *ožka* ‘goat’, as in *ir besispiriamą ožką turgun nuveda* ‘even the most stubborn goat will be taken to the market’.

Arrogance

Arrogance is considered to be an attitude of superiority manifested in an overbearing manner or in presumptuous claims or assumptions.

An overbearing and presumptuous man is often seen as *povas* ‘peacock’, because of its proud and showy walk when it deploys its tail. Only male *peacocks* have such an extravagant tail and deploy it as a part of courtship. The arrogant behavior of a man can also be seen through the appearance of *ežys* ‘hedgehog’, as in *pasipūtęs kaip ežys* ‘puffed-up like a hedgehog’; *apuokas* ‘long-eared owl’, as in *pasipūtęs kaip apuokas* ‘puffed-up like a long-eared owl’, and *erkė* ‘tick’, as in *pasipūtus kaip erkė ant bambos* ‘bumptious like a tick on a belly button’.

5.4. Analysis of Emotional Characteristics

Anger

Insects play an important role in Lithuanian culture and, as already seen, are often used to illustrate humans' characters and emotions. *Piktas kaip širšinas* 'angry like a [male] hornet' applies to a very angry male because of the grammatical masculine gender assignment to *širšinas* 'hornet' in Lithuanian. *Bitė maža, bet skaudžiai gelia* 'a bee is small, but stings painfully'; *bitė meduje gyvena, ir tai zavada randa* 'a bee lives in honey, but still finds ire'; *ir bitutė maža save skriausti neduoda* 'even a little bee will not allow itself to be harmed'; *bitė skriaudžiama gelia* 'a bee stings when put-upon' all refer to an angry woman because of the feminine grammatical and semantic genders.

An angry male has several representatives in the animal world which indicate his anger: *arklys* 'horse', *šuo* 'dog', *šernas* 'boar', *ožys* 'billy-goat', *erelis* 'eagle', *gaidys* 'rooster': *pro bjaurų arklį sunku praeiti: eisi pro galva – kąs, eisi pro uodega – spirs* 'it is hard to walk by an angry horse: if one walks by the head – he will bite, if one walks by his back – he will kick'; *piktas it šuva* 'angry like a dog'; *piktas it šernas* 'angry like a boar'; *piktas kaip ožys* 'angry like a billy-goat'; *šoka kaip erelis* 'fetches like an eagle'; *šoka kaip gaidys* 'fetches like a rooster'. Most of these animals are domestic. *Arklys* 'horse', a calm animal by nature, can also be an indication for an angry male, whose character is highlighted through the actions of an animal, such as biting and kicking. The *dog's* and *boar's* aggressive nature suggests an aggressive and offensive human being. The *billy-goat's* stubbornness contributes to its aggressiveness. The *eagle* will attack its prey from above, but will also steal prey from other predators. The *rooster* designates a male who exhibits an attitude and is ready to attack physically and/or verbally.

An angry female is illustrated through *skruzdėlė* 'ant', *kalė* 'bitch', *katė* 'cat', and *gyvatė* 'snake', as in *pikta kaip skruzdėlė* 'angry like an ant'; *loja kaip kalė* 'barks like a bitch'; *kalaliežuvis* 'bitch's tongue'; *drąskosi kaip katė* 'claws like a cat'; *pikta kaip gyvatė* 'angry like a snake'; *liežuvis it gyvatės* 'tongue like that of a snake'.

An active anger is often indicated through the relationship between two or more animals. *Nepasidalina lyg šunys kaulo* 'to disagree like two dogs over a bone'; *ėdasi kaip šunes* 'to be at each other's throats, like dogs'; *pešasi kaip šunys dėl kaulo* 'fight like dogs for the bone'; *žąsis su višta nesusikalba* 'a goose and a hen will not come to an understanding'; *imasi kaip gaidys su vanagu* 'come to grips like rooster with eagle'; *sutaria kaip šuo su kate* 'get along like dog with cat' *susikalba kaip kiaulė su žąsim* 'understand each other as much as pigs [understand] goose'; *čiupinėjasi kaip kiaulė su žąsim* 'to fuss like a pig with a goose'; *bulius prieš bulių režiasi* 'bull strains against bull'; *du gaidžiai ant vieno mėžinio/viename kieme nesutinka* 'two roosters do not get along on one dunghill/in one courtyard'; *gyvena kaip dvi katės maiše* 'live like two cats in a sack' all indicate a relationship between the two or more people through the relationship between two or more animals. The relationship of two animals of the same kind, such as *dogs*, or of the different kind, such as *žąsis* 'goose' and *kiaulė* 'pig', indicates the competitions and the fight for survival under similar circumstances. The anger, the power and the treacherous nature of one human being over another is also indicated in the behavior of *katė* 'cat' and *mouse* 'pelė' as in *myli, kaip katė pelę* 'loves

the way a cat loves a mouse’, *engia, kaip katė peles* ‘oppresses the way a cat [oppresses] mice’. All of these zoometaphors can be applied to groups of people regardless of gender.

Group anger is illustrated through *bitė* ‘bee’ as in *pykti it bitės* ‘angry like bees’; *bitės saldu medų nešdamos ir tai susipyksta* ‘bees, while gathering the sweet honey, get angry with each other’; *ir bitės dobile susipyksta* ‘bees get angry at each other in the clover’; *bitės viename avilyje suspjauna* ‘bees get angry at each other in the same hive’; *bitės, nors ir piktos, bet saldu medų neša* ‘bees, though angry, carry sweet honey’. *Užkliudė širšių lizdą* ‘stirred up a hornets’ nest’; *tu kaip vapsvų makis* ‘you are like a wasps’ nest’ illustrate the anger of only one human being by using the whole colony of bees and wasps.

Passive anger is expressed mostly through the appearance of the animal. *Dygas kaip ežys* ‘thorny like a hedgehog’; *šiauštis kaip ežys* ‘bristle like a hedgehog’; *murkso kaip apuokas* ‘to scowl like a long-eared owl’; *žiūri kaip bulius* ‘looks [at something] like a bull’ express the passive aggressive character of a human through the appearance of an animal and indicate an apathetic, sullen and passively angry persons. *Kalakutas* ‘turkey’, as in *paraudonavo kaip kalakutas* ‘got red like a turkey’, refers to an angry person. The masculine grammatical gender indicates a male referent. *Bitė* ‘bee’, as in *bitutė saldu medų neša, bet irgi gylį turi* ‘a bee may bring sweet honey, but it also has a sting’, refers to a woman.

A general expression of human anger through animals’ anger/aggression can be seen in the following zoometaphors: *žmogus žmogui vilkas* ‘a man is wolf to a man’; *piktas kaip žvėris* ‘angry like an animal’.

Aggressive and angry human behavior can also be indicated by an animal’s defense of its own territory or offspring. For example, *pempė* ‘crane’ as in *gina kaip pempė vaikus* ‘defends like the peewit her chicks’; *bitė* ‘bee’ as in *gina kaip bitė avilį* ‘defends like the bee its hive’; or *pelėda* ‘owl’, as in *gina kaip pelėda savo vaikus* ‘defends like the owl its chicks’ all illustrate such behavior. These zoometaphors can be applied to both male and female.

Happiness and friendliness

A cheerful and happy person is mostly represented by the cheerful and happy nature of birds, such as *antis* ‘duck’, *kregždė* ‘swallow’, *gaidys* ‘rooster’, *kalakutas* ‘turkey’. *Krykštauja kaip antis* ‘cackles like a duck’; *čirškia visą dieną kaip kregždė* ‘chatters the whole day like a swallow’; *linksma kaip kregždutė* ‘joyful like a swallow’; *linksma kaip kregždutės sesuo* ‘joyful like swallow’s sister’ indicate a happy woman of any age. *Linksmas kaip gaidys* ‘joyful like a rooster’, *ir džiaugiasi kaip kalakutas savo snapu* ‘happy like a turkey with its beak’ refer to a happy man because of the masculine morphological gender. A few domestic animals, such as *kiaulė* ‘pig’ and *asilas* ‘donkey’, also represent happiness. *Ir džiaugias kaip kiaulė purvyne* ‘happy like a pig in dirt’; *ir asilas žvengia avižas pamatęs* ‘even a donkey snickers when it sees oats’ designate a happy and cheerful person.

Gentleness and innocence

A gentle woman is illustrated mostly through the behavior of *katė* '[female] cat', whereas a gentle man is indicated through that of *katinas* '[male] cat', *šuniukas* '[male] puppy', and *balandis/karvelis* 'dove'. *Glaustosi kaip katė* 'fawns like a [female] cat'; *lipšni kaip katė* 'silky as a cat'; *meili kaip katė* 'lovely as a cat' refer to a woman who is very gentle, loving, suave and silky. The same characteristics apply to a man, as in *glaustosi kaip katinas* 'fawns like a [male] cat'; *trinasi kaip kačiukas/šuniukas* 'fawns like a [male] cat/puppy'; *meilinas kaip šuo aplink kojas* 'fawns like a [male] puppy against the legs'; *lipšnus kaip karvelis* 'silky as a dove'.

The gentle and suave behavior of *doves* is mirrored in zoometaphors, expressing a friendly and loving relationship between them. For example, two loving people are often described through the relationship of *balandžiai* 'pigeons', as in *gyvena kaip du balanduku* 'live like two pigeons'; *mylisi/bučiuojasi kaip du balandėliai* 'make love/kiss like two pigeons'; *burkuoja kaip du balandėliai* 'romance like two little pigeons'.

The artful innocence of a human being is illustrated through *avinėlis* 'lamb' as in *griešni kiti, o aš avinėlis* 'others are guilty, but I am a lamb'. *Lamb* can represent an innocent and gentle person because of its diminutive form. This zoometaphor also illustrates the hypocritical character of a human.

The gentleness of a human being can also be exhibited through the juxtaposition of the gentle and crude behaviors of animals. Two opposite behaviors are indicated in *dabar abu ulba, kaip balandėliu, o apsivedusiu pešis, kaip katinėliu* 'now the two are romancing like doves, and after the wedding the two will be fighting like cats'. In this metaphor the gentleness of *balandis* 'pigeon' and the treacherous and artful behavior of *katė* 'cat' clearly indicate human behavior.

Timidity

As in English and German, the main representative of timidity in Lithuanian is *kiškis/zuikis* 'rabbit'. *Kiškis* and *zuikis* in Lithuanian refer to the wild *hare* in English, while *triušis* refers to the domesticated *rabbit*. However, all three terms in Lithuanian can be used interchangeably and *rabbit* will appear as a general reference in all zoometaphors.

Some parts of animal's body can be used to indicate the timidity. *Kiškio širdis* 'rabbit's heart', *kiškiadūšis* 'rabbit's soul' illustrate the overall timid nature of a human being through the main visible and invisible parts of the body, such as *širdis* 'heart' and his/her *dūšia* 'soul'. *Bijo kaip zuikis* 'afraid like a rabbit', *baikštus kaip zuikis/kiškis* 'fearful like a rabbit/hare' illustrate a timid and fearful person. *Avinas* 'ram' illustrates also timid human being. Animals such as *avinas* 'ram', *kurmis* 'mole', *gaidys* 'rooster', *žvirblis* 'sparrow', and *šuo* 'dog' indicate a timid male person because of the masculine morphological gender: *ko virpa kaip avino uodega?* 'why is he/she shaking like ram's tail?'; *bijo kaip kurmis kelio* 'afraid like a mole of the road'; *ir gaidys dainas užmirša, kai vanaga išgirsta* 'even a rooster forgets the songs when he hears an eagle'; *garsiau ir gaidys gieda, kai vanago nemato* 'a rooster sings louder when he sees no eagle'; *išskrido*

kaip žvirbliai katiną pamatę ‘left like sparrows after seeing a cat’; *ir dreba, kaip šuva lazda pamatęs* ‘shakes like a dog who sees the stick’.

A timid female is often referred to as *avis* ‘sheep’, as in *avis ir tvarte bijo* ‘a sheep is scared even in the stall’; *tyli, kaip pjaunama avelė* ‘quiet as a slaughtered sheep’; *drąsi kaip avelė* ‘brave like a sheep’. *Varlė* ‘frog’, as in *drąsi kaip varlė, kol gužo nemato* ‘brave like a frog until it sees the craw’, designates a timid woman, brave only in situations which she is able to control. This brave behavior of the *varlė* ‘frog’ can be seen in *drąsi varlė ir kiškį pabaido* ‘a brave frog is able to scare the rabbit’.

The fear and anxiety of a group of people, without regard to gender, is also indicated through the *avis* ‘sheep’, as in *vieną avį kerpant, kitoms kinkos dreba* ‘sheep are afraid when they see others being sheared’.

Timidity can be combined with the treacherous and artful behavior of a human being, as seen in *tarp avių vilkas jis, tarp vilkų – pats avis* ‘wolf among sheep, sheep among wolves’; *prieš stipresnį balandėlis, prieš silpnesį – vanagėlis* ‘dove against stronger [opponent], hawk against a weaker [opponent]’; *akyse sakalas, už akių avinas* ‘a falcon in front of the eyes, a ram - beyond’.

Sexuality

Lithuanian exhibits more zoometaphors referring to the sexuality of a man than that of a woman. *Katinas* ‘[male] cat’ can refer to a gently acting male. Some zoometaphors reveal an ambivalent attitude toward the behavior of this animal. *Žiūri kaip katinas į lašinius* ‘looks like a [male] cat at bard’ refers to a man, regardless of age, who is attempting to seduce a young girl. The same characteristic of a man is indicated through *kuilys* ‘boar’, *bulius* ‘bull’ and *eržilas* ‘studhorse’, as in *žiūri kaip kuilys apsiputojęs* ‘looks at [...] like a foaming boar’, as well as in *eina kaip bulius per bandą* ‘walks like a bull through the herd’. *Arklys* ‘horse’, as in *kuris arklys avižų neėda* ‘which horse does not eat oats’, not only illustrates a sexually strong man, but also refers to man’s nature in being eager to meet as many women as possible. *Gal gaidžio brolis esi, kad tau vienos mergos maža* ‘Are you rooster’s brother, that one girl is not enough?’ also refers to a sexually strong male as well as his attraction to more than one woman. *Gaidys* ‘rooster’ is usually kept in a flock of six to ten hens to inseminate them. *Katė* ‘[female] cat’ refers to a sexually active woman. It also indicates the independent nature of a woman.

Some insects, such as *bitė* ‘bee’, *musė* ‘musé’ and *vapsva* ‘wasp’, which morphologically carry feminine gender, can be applied to either male or female when indicating sexuality. *Prikibo kaip bitė/musė/vapsva prie medaus* ‘adhered like a bee/fly/wasp to the honey’ can indicate the sexually persistent, brash and even abusive behavior of either a man or a woman towards another person.

Fatigue

Fatigue, as in English and German, is usually seen through the physical tiredness of animals, especially those which perform physical tasks, such as *arklys* ‘horse’ as in *nusivaręs kaip arklys* ‘exhausted like a horse’ clearly illustrates such a condition. *Šuo* ‘dog’ is another indication of such a condition. *Dogs* were usually kept to protect

property and/or as hunting companions. This led to the creation of such metaphors as *pavargės/nusivarės kaip šuo* ‘tired/dog tired’.

Roughness

The physical roughness of a human being is mostly seen through the relationship of two animals unequal in strength or body physique, such as *veršis* ‘calf’ and *stirna* ‘doe’ as in *numynė veršis stirnelei koją* ‘the calf stepped on the doe’s foot’.

Pride

Pride in Lithuanian is often illustrated through the negative characteristics of animals, which correspond to a rather negative view of pride in human beings. All of these zoometaphors can be applied to either male or female referents. *Katinas* ‘[male] cat’, and *šuo* ‘dog’, as seen in *kas katinui/šuniui uodegą pakels, jei ne jis pats* ‘who will lift cat’s/dog’s tail if not himself’; *višta* ‘hen’, as seen in *giras kaip višta kiaušinį padėjus* ‘praises oneself as if [he/she] were a chicken who had just laid an egg’; *katė* ‘[female] cat’, as in *atnešė, kaip katė pelę* ‘brought it in like a cat that brought in a mouse’; *lapė* ‘fox’, as in *didžiojasi/giriasi, kaip lapė uodega* ‘proud/praises like the fox its tail’ all illustrate human pride. These zoometaphors also refer to the arrogant and empty pride of human nature in general.

Loneliness

There are two main representatives in this category, *šuo* ‘dog’ and *vilkas* ‘wolf’. Both of these animals belong to the same *Canidae* family and exhibit very similar behavior in most situations. *Ilgisi kaip šuva kaulo* ‘to long for somebody like a dog for a bone’ illustrates the human emotion of loneliness and sadness. *Vilkas* ‘wolf’, as in *vienas kaip vilkas* ‘alone like a wolf’, also illustrates the feeling of loneliness. The structure of the *wolf* pack is very similar to that of the human community. They function as social predators and hunt in packs, but lead separate lives as individuals. Other animals, such as *avinas* ‘ram’, *apuokas* ‘long-eared owl’, and *avis* ‘sheep’, also may indicate loneliness, because of our perception of their behavior. The *apuokas* ‘long-eared owl’ is often seen/heard as a single bird, because owls don’t flock like other birds. *Avinas* ‘ram’, as in *vienas kaip avinas tarp kiaulių* ‘single like one ram among pigs’, illustrates not only the loneliness of a human being, but also the general feeling of being unappreciated and not being able to find the right place [for himself/herself]. All of these animals, because of the masculine morphological gender, indicate a male referent in most situations, but can also be found in contexts referring to a female. *Avis* ‘sheep’, as in *atsiskyre kaip avele nuo savo bandos* ‘separated like a sheep from the herd’, indicates a female referent because of the feminine morphological gender.

Curiosity

Lapė ‘fox’, as in *smalsus kaip lapė* ‘curious like a fox’, is a general reference to a curious human being. The *fox*’s narrow and spiky-looking face makes it appear to be able

to creep into areas which are usually very hard to access for other animals. Other characteristics of the *fox*, such as treacherous, artful, and smart, strengthen the characteristic of curiosity.

Freedom

As in English and German, *paukštis* ‘bird’ generally refers to freedom. *Laisvas kaip paukštis* ‘free like a bird’ clearly reveals the real, free nature of a human being. *Birds* are the only species able to achieve great heights while flying and reach any destination of their choice.

Death

Musė ‘fly’ as in *krito kaip musės* ‘fell like flies’, illustrates the fast death of a human being and often refers to a larger group of people.

5.5. Analysis of the Intellectual Characteristics

Stupidity

As in English and German, Lithuanian exhibits a wide variety of zoometaphors where *asilas* ‘donkey/ass’ represents a stupid person, mostly male. Some of the examples are: *kvailas kaip asilas* ‘stupid like a donkey’; *ar taip asilui dėsi kepurę, ar kitaip – vis tiek ausys matyt* ‘one can put a hat on a donkey one way or another, the ears will still be visible’; *jis tiek nusimano, kaip asilas apie astronomiją/kompotą/apie vaistus* ‘he knows as much as a donkey about astronomy/compote/in a pharmacy’. A metaphor such as *du kvaili trečias asilas* ‘two are stupid, the third is the donkey’ has been taken from many fairytales. It refers to those tales in which the intelligence of three siblings is illustrated, indicating that the two older siblings, always of the same gender, are smarter than the third one. *Protingas kaip asilas* ‘smart like a donkey’; *išmintingas kaip asilas* ‘wise like a donkey’; *tegu asilas mįslyja, jo galva didesnė* ‘let the donkey think, his head is larger’ sarcastically refer to man’s stupidity. Another animal which also is illustrated in a wide variety of zoometaphors representing a stupid man is *avinas* ‘ram’. Metaphors such as *kvailas kaip avinas* ‘stupid like a ram’; *kvailas kaip nukirptas avinas* ‘stupid like a sheared ram’; *avinas skundėsi vilkui, kad šuo negeras* ‘the ram complained to the wolf that the dog is unkind’; *nenusiduok avinu, vilkas suės* ‘do not pretend to be a donkey, the wolf will eat [you]’; *išmano, kaip avinas vaistinėj* ‘understands like a ram at the pharmacy’ all refer to a stupid and silly man. *Zuikis* ‘rabbit’ because of its fearful and panicked nature also refers to a stupid male, as seen in *razumas, kaip zuikio* ‘a mind like that of a rabbit’. *Veršelis/teliukas* ‘calf’, *paršelis* ‘piglet’ illustrates a stupid young man because of the indication of a young age of an animal in the zoometaphor. *Apuokas* ‘long-eared owl’ refers to a stupid male because of its characteristic of being passive and showing little emotion, which evolves from its extremely passive behavior. *Žiogas* ‘grasshopper’ denotes a stupid man because of the size of the animal and a very small head size. It often is applied to children because of their silly behavior. *Jautis* ‘ox’ and

ožys ‘billy-goat’, as in *senas jautis/ožys* ‘old ox/billy-goat’, refer to a stupid man illustrating his stupidity through the old age of the animal.

Several metaphors illustrate stupidity through different body parts of an animal, which have a direct reference to the body parts of a human. *Asilo/avino/arklio galva* ‘donkey’s/ram’s/horse’s head’, *žvirbliagalvis* ‘sparrow’s head’, *vištprotis* ‘Hen brained’ denote a stupid human regardless of gender. *Durnas kaip asilo/avino kulnas* ‘stupid like donkey’s/rams heel’, *proto, kaip gaidžio kulny* ‘as much as intelligence as in a rooster’s heel’ also apply to a stupid human being.

A few metaphors combine two different animals to illustrate stupidity: *asilas* ‘donkey’ and *avinas* ‘ram’, *arklys* ‘horse’ and *asilas* ‘donkey’, *jautis* ‘ox’ and *avinas* ‘ram’, *briedis* ‘moose’ and *asilas* ‘donkey’, and their characteristics. Some examples are: *didelis kaip asilas, kvailas kaip avinas* ‘big like a donkey, stupid like a ram’; *didelis kaip arklys, durnas kaip asilas* ‘big like a horse, stupid like a donkey’; *stiprus kaip jautis, kvailas kaip avinas* ‘strong like an ox, stupid like a ram’; *didelis kaip briedis, o durnas kaip asilas* ‘big like a moose, but stupid like a donkey’.

There are more zoometaphors which combine two or more characteristics of a human being through two or more characteristics of several animals. *Durnas kaip avinas, piktas kaip šuo* ‘stupid like a donkey, angry like a dog’ illustrates not only a stupid, but also an angry male. A combination of stupidity and anger equals danger. Stupidity and rudeness are seen in *gudrus kaip avinas, mandagus kaip degloji* ‘smart like a ram, polite like a pig’. *Asilo galva, meškos eisena ir kiškio širdis – štai ir visas jo gerumas* ‘donkey’s head, bear’s walk and rabbit’s heart – this is all of his goodness’ combines an overall characteristics of stupidity and roughness.

Some metaphors indicate a stupid person through the relationship of the offspring to its ancestor or another family member: *paikas, kaip avies vaikas* ‘silly like a sheep’s kid’ is often used to refer to rather stupid and silly behavior of a child, but can also be applied to an adult of either gender. *Eik, tu, asilo broli/sese* ‘go away, you donkey’s brother/sister’ refers to a stupid male or female. Although both of these zoometaphors indicate the stupidity of a person, they are less offensive and insulting because of the indirect reference to the animal through the family relationship.

The stupidity of a human being can also be seen through a characteristic such as being the *scapegoat*, as in *viena avis dėl visų išbliauna* ‘one sheep cries for all of them’, which indicates a good-hearted, often diligent, but stupid person who allows himself to be used by others. *Arklys* ‘horse’, as in *kuris arklys veža, tam ir krauna* ‘the horse that carries will be overloaded by others’; *kuris arklys bėga, tą ir plaka* ‘the horse that runs, will be horsewhipped’; *Dievo Avinėlis* ‘Lamb of God’ illustrate such a characteristic. Although *arklys* ‘horse’ and *avinėlis* ‘lamb’ carry masculine grammatical gender, these zoometaphors can be applied to either male or female because of the action seen in the metaphors. The Lamb of God (Latin: *Agnus Dei*), well known among Christian confessions, is one of the titles given to Jesus in the New Testament. In Christian theology, the term emphasizes Jesus’s role as a sacrificial lamb atoning for the sins of man.

A stupid female is illustrated by a wide variety of animals that carry feminine morphological gender. Most of these animals are domestic animals with strict morphological and semantic gender assignments, such as *žąsis* ‘goose’, *višta* ‘hen’, *avis* ‘sheep’, *kiaulė* ‘pig’. *Kvaila kaip žąsis* ‘stupid like a goose’; *kvaila kaip višta* ‘stupid like

a hen'; *bene pažįsta kiaulė politiką?* 'does the pig understand politics?'; *kvaila, kaip avis* 'stupid like a sheep' refer to a silly acting and stupid woman. Some wild birds also indicate a stupid woman, for example, *kuosa* 'jackdaw', *šarka* 'magpie', *varna* 'crow'. These birds are known for being chatty and loud, which is connected to woman's habit of talking a lot and sometimes nonsense. *Čiulbėjo paukštelė, kol katinui naguos nepateko* 'the [female] bird sang until [she] was caught by the cat' does not indicate a specific bird, but rather a general reference to birds. An ironic and sarcastic way of indicating a stupid woman is through the opposites of the actual characteristics of an animal. *Gudri kaip perekšlė višta* 'smart like a brood-hen'; *gudri, kaip prijaukinta lapė* 'smart like a domesticated fox'; *gudri, kaip gervė kelionėj į dausas* 'smart like a crane during the trip to heaven' clearly indicate a stupid woman. Some metaphors combine several characteristics, including stupidity, at once: *gudri kaip avis, apsukri kaip višta* 'sly like a sheep, smart like a hen'. *Avis, ožka – dievo loska* 'sheep, goat – God's kindness' refers to a stupid woman through the process of God's creation of the earth.

Beždžionė 'monkey' is also in this category because of its silly behavior and can refer to both male and female. *Ar išmano kiaulė pipirus, mįslyja, kad žirniai* 'does the pig understand peppers, it thinks these are peas' also can be applied to either male or female.

Artfulness and treachery

A variety of wild animals represent a treacherous and cunning person. This is mostly due to the fact that humans have less contact with wildlife, and when animals and humans encounter each other in the wilderness, humans experience negative behaviour, such as anger, artfulness, treachery, and slatternliness, rather than positive behavior of an animal.

Lapė 'fox', as already discussed in earlier chapters, is one of the major representatives in this category. In Lithuanian, *lapė* 'fox' carries feminine grammatical gender and is often applied to female referents. However, it does not exclude the possibility of using this animal to refer to a male referent, but such use appears to be less frequent. A metaphor such as *gudrus/gudri kaip lapės augintas* 'sly [male/female] as if raised by a fox' clearly indicates such an assignment. It does not refer directly to the animal, but his/her artfulness is illustrated through the unspecified gender of its offspring. *Lapė ir snape vištas skaičiuoja* 'the fox is already counting hens in its snout' illustrates a human being who is preparing for an artful and treacherous action and already sees what goods are coming towards him/her after succeeding. *Apgavo kaip lapė vilką* 'fooled like the fox [fooled] the wolf' illustrates two very sly and wily people going against each other. It can be applied to either male or female or to both genders at the same time.

The *snake* is another major representative of the treacherous and artful behavior of a human being in this category. As with *fox*, the term can be used to refer to either male or female: *gyvatė* 'snake'; *gyvatė iš pasalu gelia* 'the snake stings from the ambush', *gyvatė gelia skaudžiai* 'the snake bites painfully'. The unchanging character of such a person can be seen through the constantly artful behavior of the *gyvatė* 'snake' as in *maža gyvatė, didelė gyvatė – vis tiek gyvatė* 'small snake, big snake – it is still a snake', as well as through the passing of the cultural tradition from generation to generation as illustrated through *žaltys* 'grass-snake', as in *koks žaltys, tokie ir žalčiukai* 'like a grass-snake, like the offspring of the grass-snake'. Treacherous and artful behavior

of the *snake* can be combined with intelligence, as in *maža gyvatė didelį jautį užmuša* ‘a small snake kills a big ox’.

Šuo ‘[male] dog’ refers to an angry, artful and wily man whereas its counterpart, *kalė* ‘bitch’, as mentioned earlier, refers to a woman. *Glaudus veršis dvi karves žindo* ‘the close calf nurses from two cows’ illustrates the nature of a man as being smart and artful. *Suktas kaip avino ragas* ‘ringletted like a ram’s horn’ refers to a sly and treacherous man. *Suktas* ‘involute’ in Lithuanian can also mean tricky, roguish, and cunning. *Šliužas* ‘slug’, *žaltys* ‘grass-snake’, *anginas* ‘viper’ all have the masculine morphological gender and are applied to a treacherous man.

Some birds also appear in this category as well, *gegutė* ‘cuckoo’ being one of them. This bird is known for laying eggs in other birds’ nests and letting other birds hatch them. *Nakties gegutė* ‘night’s cuckoo’ refers a sly and artful woman. *Rupūžė* ‘toad’ is a general reference to a cunning woman due to its unfriendly looks as well as poisonous secretion.

A few zoometaphors clearly indicate the silly and wily behavior of a child with the help of the diminutive forms of some animals. *Gyvačiukas* ‘little snake’, *varlys* ‘sprog’ refer to a silly, sly and wily child regardless of gender.

A treacherous and artful/cunning person can also be indicated not only through the behavior of an animal, but also through the body part of an animal. These zoometaphors in Lithuanian can be applied to either male or female: *anginio kailis* ‘viper’s skin’, *šuns kailis* ‘dog’s skin’.

Some animals indicate artfulness and treachery with the help of other characteristics, such as silence, quietness or slowness. For example, *kiaulė* ‘pig’ as in *tyli/rami/lėta kiaulė giliai šaknį knisa* ‘a mute/quiet/slow pig digs deep roots’; *glostai katę, o ji tau nagus rodo* ‘one pets the cat, and it shows its paws’ can denote either male or female, who is sly and wily, but pretends to be quiet and innocent. The two-faced, treacherous behavior of a human being is also illustrated in metaphors in which the characteristics of two different animals are switched. For example, *vilkas* ‘wolf’ instead of *avis/avinėlis* ‘sheep/lamb’ as in *vilkas avies kailyje* ‘wolf in sheep’s skin’; *apsirėde vilkas avinu, bet šunys is tiek suuodė* ‘the wolf dressed himself like a ram, but the dogs scented him anyway’; *ėriuko kailiu apsirėdęs vilkas ėriuku nebus* ‘a wolf dressed in lamb’s skin will never become a lamb’; *vanagas* ‘hawk’ instead of *karvelis* ‘dove’ as in *akyse karvelis, už akių vanagėlis* ‘in front of the eyes – dove, beyond the eyes - hawk’; *gyvatė* ‘snake’ instead of *lakštingala* ‘nightingale’ *lakštingalos liežuvis, gyvatės gylys* ‘nightingale’s tongue, snake’s sting’; *vanagas* ‘hawk’ instead of *gegutė* ‘cuckoo’, as in *apsirėde vanagas gegutės plunksnomis, bet užmiršo nagus paslėpt* ‘the hawk dressed himself in the feathers of the cuckoo, but forgot to hide his nails’, all illustrate the treacherous nature of the human being through the pretense of being somebody else. All of these zoometaphors can refer to either male or female.

Treacherous and artful/cunning behavior on the part of a human being can also be indicated through unequal powers of two different animals, such as *katinas* ‘[male] cat’ and *žvirblis* ‘sparrow’, as illustrated in *katinas su žvirbliu neilgai broliausis* ‘cat and sparrow won’t fraternize long with each other’. This metaphor illustrates the relationship between two unequal opponents, one being rather wily and treacherous and the other stupid and naïve.

Experience and cleverness

Most of the zoometaphors in this section reflect experience through the older age of an animal, which in most cases refers to the older and experienced human being. Wild animals, such as *vilkas* ‘wolf’, or *žvirblis* ‘sparrow’ are often used to indicate an experienced man. *Senas žvirblis* ‘old sparrow’; *senas girių vilkas* ‘old wolf of the woods’; *seno vilko neapgausi* ‘no one will trick an old wolf’; *senas vilkas uodegos į eketę nekiša* ‘an old wolf does not stick his tail into the ice-hole’; *seno žvirblio ant pelų nepasodinsi* ‘one will not set an old sparrow onto the chaff’ can refer either to the male or female despite the masculine grammatical gender assignment to the nouns. This is mainly because of the additional indication of age and specific situations which are seen in these zoometaphors.

Some domestic animals, however, because of their masculine grammatical gender, such as *arklys* ‘horse’ or *jautis* ‘ox’, refer only to the experienced and clever male mainly because of the morphological and semantic gender assignment. The experience of domestic animals is not only indicated through their age, but also through their abilities to perform certain physical tasks flawlessly: *Senas arklys/jautis vagos negadina* ‘an old horse/ox does not damage the trench’; *senas arklys žino daug kelių* ‘an old horse knows many roads’; *senas arklys daugiau veža* ‘an old horse carries more’. *Su artu arkliu bepigu ir art* ‘it is easy to break ground with an experienced horse’ also illustrates an experienced and clever man through an animal’s ability to perform certain tasks, but without indication of its age. Several zoometaphors show a smart man not only through the older age and physical power and experience, but also through certain changes in physiology: *juo vilkas senyn, tuo dantys aštryn* ‘the older the wolf, the sharper the teeth’; *juo katinas senyn, tuo nagai aštryn* ‘the older the [male] cat, the sharper the nails’; *jautis senyn, ragai kietyn* ‘the older the ox, the harder the horns’. *Juo katinas senyn, juo uodega aukštyn* ‘the older the [male] cat, the taller the tail’ refers to a smart male illustrating his intelligence and pride. The general cleverness and experience of a human being is indicated in *su yla vilko nenudursi* ‘one can not kill the wolf with the bodkin’; *ant stiklo šuva basas nevaikšto* ‘the dog does not walk barefoot on scrap glass’. *Žaltys* ‘grass-snake’ and *gyvatė* ‘snake’ apply not just to a treacherous and artful human being, but also to a smart, wise and experienced person. *Žaltys* ‘grass-snake’, because of its masculine morphological gender, denotes a smart male; whereas *gyvatė* ‘snake’, because of its feminine morphological gender, is mostly used to indicate a smart female. In some cases, these two metaphors can be used interchangeably for both genders.

An experienced and clever woman shows up in Lithuanian as *lapė* ‘fox’ or *ožka* ‘goat’. Interestingly, *ožka* ‘goat’ has been discussed earlier as being stupid. *Atsargios ožkos ir vilkas nepjauna* ‘a careful goat will not be slaughtered by the wolf’, however, indicates a clever and experienced woman, who is able to avoid danger. *Antis* ‘duck’, as in *kytra kaip laukinė antis* ‘smart like wild duck’, also indicates a smart female. *Lapė* ‘fox’, as in English and German, represents the general intelligence of a human being: *gudri, kaip lapės auginta* ‘smart as if raised by the fox’, *gudri lapė uodegą prisvilusi* ‘smart is the fox after burning her tail’.

Inexperience

Viščiukas ‘chick’ refers to an inexperienced human being, usually a child. *Kiaušinis* ‘egg’, as in *kiaušinis vištą moko* ‘an egg is lecturing the chicken’, also indicates the same characteristic. Despite the young age of an animal, these zoometaphors can indicate an inexperienced human being regardless of his/her age or gender.

5.6. Tables of characteristics of animals in Lithuanian

Table 5.6.1 illustrates somatic characteristics of animals and table 5.6.2 illustrates behavioral, emotional and intellectual characteristics of animals in Lithuanian.

5.6.2. Behavioral, emotional and intellectual characteristics in Lithuanian.

	Behavior												Intelligence				Emotions/Feelings						Other								
	Affectation	Arrogance	Diligence	Drunkenness	Greediness	Herd instinct	Immorality/Impudence	Importunity	Laziness	Politeness	Roughness	Stubbornness	Artfulness/Treachery	Cleverness/Experience	Inexperience	Stupidity	Anger	Craziness	Gentleness/innocence	Happiness/friendliness	Loneliness	Sexuality	Timidity	Tiredness	Curiosity	Death	Freedom	Lousiness	Pride		
Ant			x													x															
Ass/Donkey												x			x				x												
Ape/Monkey	X																														
Bee/Hornet			x		x		x		x							x						x									
Bird															x												x				
Boar																x															
Bull			x													x						x									
Calf													x		x																
Cat					x								x	x		x		x				x									x
Chick															x																
Cock/Rooster											x					x			x		x	x									
Cow							x																								
Crane															x																
Crow			x						x																						
Cuckoo							x						x																		
Dog/Bitch					x		x						x			x		x					x	x							x
Duck														x					x												
Eagle																x															
Fly					x			x														x									
Fox													x	x		x										x					
Frog													x										x								
Goose																x															

6. Contrastive Analysis

If you pick up a starving dog and make him prosperous, he will not bite you. This is the principal difference between a dog and a man.
Mark Twain (1835 - 1910)

6.1. Metaphor and part of speech

The division between the metaphor and simile is more or less clear. On the grammatical level, the simile exhibits a simple syntactic construction. It always employs prepositions *as* and *like* (German *wie*, Lithuanian *kaip*, *lyg*). Metaphors, on the other hand, exhibit more complex compositions. Naturally enough, nouns seem to be an appropriate source for metaphors. But metaphors can also be expressed through different parts of speech, such as verb, adjective, or adverb. I consider any grammatical conversion from given substantival source domain to be a true conventional metaphor, because the derivation/formation of other parts of speech from noun is not only predictable, but also expected. Table 6.1 lists possible parts of speech of zoometaphors found in the current research data.

Noun as a conventional metaphor:

- Engl. *ass* (stupid, dumb)
bull (slow, lumbering person)
mouse (curious person)
tiger (aggressive, angry person)
- Germ. *der Esel* 'ass' (stupid, dumb)
die Affe 'monkey, ape' (stupid person)
- Lith. *asilas* 'ass' (stupid, dumb)
arklys 'horse' (tall, big, strong person)
-

Noun + noun as a conventional metaphor:

- Engl. *frog's feet* (a person whose feet are turned inwards)
Germ. *das Auge des Adlers* 'the eye of an eagle' (good sight of a person)
- Lith. *asilo galva* 'donkey's head' (stupid person)
gaidžio brolis 'rooster's brother' (reprobate man)
-

Adjective as a conventional metaphor:

- Engl. *tigerish* (aggressive)
mousy (curious)
bovine (dull, slow)
monkeyish (stupid, silly, naughty)
sheepish (self-conscious, stupid)
- Germ. *äffisch* 'apish' (stupid)
hündisch 'dogish' (mischievous, artful)
- Lith. *arkliškas* 'horsy' (large, big)
-

Verb as a conventional metaphor:

- Engl. *to monkey around* (to behave stupidly)
to horse around (to behave stupidly)
to ape (to imitate)
- Germ. *mausen* (to pilfer)
from *die Maus* 'mouse'
- Lith. *atzuikinti* (to run fast)
from *zuikis* 'rabbit'
kiaulinti/pakiaulinti (to do something mean to someone)
pasikiaulinti (to behave mean/rude, to not meet other's expectations)
from *kiaulė* 'pig'
-

Adverb as a conventional metaphor:

- Engl. *sheepishly* (self-consciously, stupidly)
- Germ. *hundemäßig* 'dog-like' (mischievously, artfully)
- Lith. *kiauliškai* 'pig-like, piggy' (rudely, impolitely)
-

Table 6.1 Parts of speech of zoometaphors

As table 6.1 illustrates, a verb, adjective or adverb can be derived/formed from the substantival source domain. The noun can stand alone and serve as a direct source domain for the target domain. Some nouns can be accompanied by nouns which refer not directly to the animal, but to its body parts illustrating certain outstanding abilities or referring to certain behavioral or emotional characteristics. In such zoometaphors, the name of an animal takes the genitive case and serves a possessive purpose, whereas the name of the body part or other noun takes the nominative case, as seen in Engl. *frog's feet*, Germ. *das Auge des Adlers* 'the eye of an eagle', and Lith. *gaidžio brolis* 'rooster's brother'. The main purpose of an adjective is to modify the noun. An adjective can stand alone or precede the noun. In German and Lithuanian, an adjective will have to follow the case system rules and will be inflected, but that will change neither the meaning nor the purpose of the adjective. Adjectives derived from nouns which refer to animals usually modify nouns which refer to emotions, behavior, intelligence or body parts of the human being, but not to the animal itself. All three languages exhibit verbs with separable prefixes. In German and Lithuanian they are attached to the beginning of the noun, and in English, they follow the verb and are considered particles. They are not attached to the verb, but must appear after the verb. The data of zoometaphors in English reveals that most verbs derived from the nouns carry a separable prefix as seen in *to monkey around*, *to horse around*, but *to ape*. Lithuanian also exhibits usage of verbal prefixes in zoometaphors as seen in *pakiaulinti* 'to pig', (verbal prefix *pa-* attached to the verb *kiaulinti*). The reflexive particle *si* can also be attached to the verb following the prefix, as seen in *pasikiaulinti* 'to pig oneself'. German data did not reveal any prefixes attached to the verb, but the possibility is not excluded since the usage of separable or inseparable prefixes in German is of a high frequency.

Based on this evidence, it seems that some substantival source domains of the zoometaphor can be expressed in several different parts of speech carrying similar or the same meaning as the source domain. For example the zoometaphor *monkey* can have other forms such as *monkeyish*, *to monkey around*.

6.2. Typological analysis of the zoometaphors in English, German, and Lithuanian

Looking at tables 6.2., 6.3., 6.4., and 6.5. (see the end of this section), the most important group of animals used in zoometaphors in all three languages comes from the group of Livestock and Fowl, making up 40% in English, 39% in German, and 42% in Lithuanian and the average total of 41% of all zoometaphors in all three languages (see table 6.2.4. at the end of this section). The second most popular group of zoometaphors comes from the group of Birds with 10% in English, and 11% in German, 18% in Lithuanian, with an average total of 13% of all corpora. The third most popular group of zoometaphors comes from the Canidae family with 6% in English, 19% in German, 13% in Lithuanian, with an average total of 13% of all corpora.

Lithuanian and English exhibit the highest numbers of zoometaphors which refer to insects, 9% and 9% respectively. German shows that only 3% of all zoometaphors refer to human beings through the behavior or character of an insect.

The least popular animal categories are Rodents, with 4% in Lithuanian, 5% in German and 6% in English. Lithuanian exhibits a very low popularity of Fish,

Amphibians, and Mollusks with only 3%. In German the least favorite animal category is Insects with only 3%, and in English Canidae, with 6%.

All three languages seem to favor livestock and fowl as a reference for human characteristics. This is mainly due to the fact that the ancestors of the speakers of all three languages depended on livestock and fowl for survival. Because of such a close relationships between the human and the domesticated species, the speakers of all three languages were able to apply numerous animals characteristics to the behavior and physique of the human being. A close relationship between the human being and birds also has its roots. Birds played important part in the survival of human beings and were mainly hunted for food. Birds provided humans with certain signs which helped to predict nature events which were often interpreted as warnings. The family of Canidae also plays an important role in human history. Dogs, the main representatives in this category, were domesticated around 13,000 - 17,000 BC.

The typology of the metaphor in this corpus reveals interesting results. The overall results in Lithuanian seem to favor the simile (S) with 58% over the metaphor (M) with 42%. English also favors S over M with 53% and 47% respectively. But German presents opposite results and favors M with a striking 92% over S with 8%. Some animal categories in German display as high as 93% (Birds) usage of M. The highest percentages of M in Lithuanian and English are 59% (Canids) and 64% (Birds) respectively. No animal category in German favors simile over metaphor.

ENGLISH (total metaphors: 626; similes (S): 333 (53%); metaphors (M): 293 (47%))

Animal categories:

Canidae (Total 39 - 6%) S-19 (49%) M-20 (51%)	dog, wolf, fox
Birds (aves) (Total 65 – 10%) S-23 (35%) M-42 (65%)	swan, pigeon, peewit, jay, magpie, eagle, hawk, falcon, ostrich, vulture, aquiline, cuckoo, sparrow, owl (long-eared owl), parrots, raven/crow, swallow, lark, crane, nightingale, stork
Insects (Total 54 – 8%) S-44 (81%) M-10 (19%)	bee, hornet, wasp, ant, hive, beetle, butterfly, cockroach, flea, fly, spider, louse, tick, moth,
Livestock/Fowl (Total 252 – 40%) S-136 (54%) M-116 (46%)	Cattle (cow, bull/ox, calf), goat (billy goat), pig (sow, piglet, boar), horse (mare), ass/donkey sheep (ewe, ram, lamb), chicken (hen, rooster), duck, goose, peafowl, turkey,
Other animals (Total 52 – 8%) S-26 (50%) M-26 (50%)	Ape/monkey, bat, reptile (snake), bear, elephant, moose/deer, doe lizard, snail/slug, worm
Fish/amphibians/mollusk (Total 65 - 10%) S-37 (57%) M-28 (43%)	Fish, fluke/flounder, herring, mackerel, mullet, prawn, whale, , shell-fish, frog/toad, crayfish
Cats (Total 60 – 9%) S-24 (40%) M-36 (60%)	cat, lynx, lion, tiger
Rodents (Total 39 - 6%) S-24 (62%) M-15 (38%)	mole, otter, rabbit/hare, rat/mice, squirrel, chipmunk, hedgehog, guinea pig

Table 6.2. Results for English zoometaphors.

GERMAN (total metaphors: 663; similes (S): 54 (8%); metaphors (M): 609 (92%))

Animal categories:

Canidae (Total 127 – 19%) S-5 (4%) M-122 (96%)	dog, wolf, fox
Birds (aves) (Total 75 – 11%) S-3 (4%) M-72 (96%)	swan, pigeon, peewit, jay, magpie, eagle, hawk, falcon, ostrich, vulture, aquiline, cuckoo, sparrow, owl (long-eared owl), parrots, raven/crow, swallow, lark, crane, nightingale, stork
Insects (Total 19 – 3%) S-3 (16%) M-16 (84%)	bee, hornet, wasp, ant, hive, beetle, butterfly, cockroach, flea, fly, spider, louse, tick, moth,
Livestock/Fowl (Total 260 - 39%) S-22 (8%) M-238 (92%)	Cattle (cow, bull/ox, calf), goat (billy goat), pig (sow, piglet, boar), horse (mare), ass/donkey sheep (ewe, ram, lamb), chicken (hen, rooster), duck, goose, peafowl, turkey,
Other wild animals (Total 60 – 9%) S-4 (7%) M-56 (93%)	Ape/monkey, bat, reptile (snake), bear, elephant, moose/deer, doe lizard, snail/slug, worm
Fish/amphibians/mollusk (Total 29 – 4%) S-7 (24%) M-22 (76%)	Fish, fluke/flounder, herring, mackerel, mullet, prawn, whale, , shell-fish, frog/toad, crayfish
Cats (Total 58 – 9%) S-6 (10%) M-52 (90%)	cat, lynx, lion, tiger
Rodents (Total 35 – 5%) S-4 (11%) M-31 (89%)	mole, otter, rabbit/hare, rat/mice, squirrel, chipmunk, hedgehog, guinea pig

Table 6.3. Results for German zoometaphors.

LITHUANIAN (total metaphors: 657; similes (S): 382(58%); metaphors (M): 275 (42%)

Animal categories:

Canidae (Total 88 – 13%) S-36 (41%) M-52 (59%)	dog, wolf, fox
Birds (aves) (Total 118 – 18%) S-66 (56%) M-52 (44%)	swan, pigeon, peewit, jay, magpie, eagle, hawk, falcon, ostrich, vulture, aquiline, cuckoo, sparrow, owl (long-eared owl), parrots, raven/crow, swallow, lark, crane, nightingale, stork
Insects (Total 59 – 9%) S-40 (68%) M-19 (32%)	bee, hornet, wasp, ant, hive, beetle, butterfly, cockroach, flea, fly, spider, louse, tick, moth,
Livestock/Fowl (Total 278 – 42%) S-161 (58) M-117 (42)	Cattle (cow, bull/ox, calf), goat (billy goat), pig (sow, piglet, boar), horse (mare), ass/donkey sheep (ewe, ram, lamb), chicken (hen, rooster), duck, goose, peafowl, turkey,
Other wild animals (Total 35 – 5%) S-25 (71%) M-10 (29%)	Ape/monkey, bat, reptile (snake), bear, elephant, moose/deer, doe lizard, snail/slug, worm
Fish/amphibians/mollusk (Total 19 - 3%) S-14 (74%) M-5 (26%)	Fish, fluke/flounder, herring, mackerel, mullet, prawn, whale, , shell-fish, frog/toad, crayfish
Cats (Total 31 – 5%) S-20 (65%) M-11 (35%)	cat, lynx, lion, tiger
Rodents (Total 29 – 4%) S-20 (69%) M-9 (31%)	mole, otter, rabbit/hare, rat/mice, squirrel, chipmunk, hedgehog, guinea pig

Table 6.2.4. Results for Lithuanian zoometaphors.

All Metaphors (total metaphors: 1946; similes: 769 (40%); metaphors: 1177 (60%))

Animal categories:

Canidae (Total 254 – 13%) S- 60 (24%) M-194 (76%)	dog, wolf, fox
Birds (aves) (Total 258 – 13%) S-92 (36%) M-166 (64%)	swan, pigeon, peewit, jay, magpie, eagle, hawk, falcon, ostrich, vulture, aquiline, cuckoo, sparrow, owl (long-eared owl), parrots, raven/crow, swallow, lark, crane, nightingale, stork
Insects (Total 132 – 7%) S-87 (66%) M-45 (44%)	bee, hornet, wasp, ant, hive, beetle, butterfly, cockroach, flea, fly, spider, louse, tick, moth,
Livestock/Fowl (Total 790 – 41%) S-319 (40%) M- 471 (60%)	Cattle (cow, bull/ox, calf), goat (billy goat), pig (sow, piglet, boar), horse (mare), ass/donkey sheep (ewe, ram, lamb), chicken (hen, rooster), duck, goose, peafowl, turkey,
Other wild animals (Total 147 – 7%) S-55 (37%) M- 92 (63%)	Ape/monkey, bat, reptile (snake), bear, elephant, moose/deer, doe lizard, snail/slug, worm
Fish/amphibians/mollusk (Total 113 – 6%) S- 58 (51%) M-55 (49%)	Fish, fluke/flounder, herring, mackerel, mullet, prawn, whale, , shell-fish, frog/toad, crayfish
Cats (Total 149 – 8%) S-50 (34%) M-99 (66%)	cat, lynx, lion, tiger
Rodents (Total 103 –5%) S-48 (47%) M-55 (53%)	mole, otter, rabbit/hare, rat/mice, squirrel, chipmunk, hedgehog, guinea pig

Table 6.5. An overview of all corpuses of zoometaphors.

7. Conclusion

*Immer I-A sagen - das lernte allein der Esel,
und wer seines Geistes ist.*

Friedrich Nietzsche, Also sprach Zarathustra

Chapter 1 of this dissertation introduced several important aspects in the history of language and discussed the development and importance of metaphors, in particular of zoometaphors. The roots of zoometaphors reach back to the plays by the Greek authors, such as Euripides and Sophocles, among others, whose plays were invariably allegorical. The use of metaphors has been an inseparable part of everyday life ever since.

Chapter 2 discussed animals throughout history and their importance in many cultures through mythology, literature, religion, and other traditions. It presented a study of metaphor, zoosemiotics and zoometaphor and discussed the methodology and collection of the current data corpus for this dissertation.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 analyzed the three languages, examined English, German and Lithuanian, respectively. Each chapter presented and discussed somatic, behavioral, emotional and intellectual characteristics of human being. Common themes recurred among all three languages with only few exceptions. The tables presented at the end of these chapters separate domestic and wild animals and present the spectrum of the usage of their characteristics. Because the speakers of all three languages share similar geographical and cultural settings, it is no surprise that they choose similar animals to represent certain characteristics. It is hard to separate whether there is cultural diffusion and/or borrowing involved. For example, all three languages choose *pig* as a representative for drunkenness, rudeness, importunity, greediness, and impudence. *Rabbit/hare* represent timidity, whereas *fox* – intelligence.

Among other results, it is important to note that domestic animals have more characteristics assigned to them than do wild animals. This is most likely because of a very close relationship between humans and domestic animals, where humans are able to observe the behavior, habits, and character from much closer distance than those of wild animals. Domesticated animals reveal stronger gender divisions in zoometaphors. Wild animals in all languages lack specific words for such assignments or those words are used only in specific situations, but not in zoometaphors. For example, German *der Fuchs* ‘fox’ is used to designate an intelligent, smart, treacherous or artful person, but *die Füchsin* ‘[female] fox’ does not appear in any zoometaphors and is usually found in contexts when referring to a female *fox* who breeds the offspring. Such usage is not exclusive to this context and can also be found when referring to an intelligent, smart, treacherous, and artful female. However, the current corpus did not provide any examples of this kind.

The corpus of all three languages reveals that domestic animals denote one or more negative characteristics, whereas wild animals are usually assigned only one. For example, *goat* in Lithuanian is a designated representative for stupidity, greediness, laziness, stubbornness, and anger, but *owl* is associated with passive anger only. *Bull* in

English indicates characteristics such as roughness, stubbornness, and anger, but *buzzard* artfulness/treachery only. German *pig* illustrates stupidity, immorality, drunkenness, greediness, laziness, and roughness, but *lynx* artfulness/treachery only.

Strict gender division (both, morphological and semantic) is mostly seen among characteristics that illustrate human intelligence, such as stupidity (*cock* vs. *hen* in English, *der Bulle/der Ochse* vs. *die Kuh* ‘cow’ in German; *avinas* ‘ram’ vs. *avis* ‘sheep’ in Lithuanian), artfulness/treachery (*dog* vs. *bitch* in English; *der Hund* ‘dog’ vs. *die Katze* ‘cat’ in German; *žaltys* ‘grass-snake [male]’ vs. *gyvatė* ‘snake [female]’ in Lithuanian), inexperience (*bull* vs. *hen* in English), cleverness (*žaltys* ‘grass-snake [male]’ vs. *gyvatė* ‘snake [female]’). The age of an animal does not play any role among any characteristics, except experience/cleverness and inexperience/stupidity.

Chapter 6 discussed the contrastive overview of the typology of zoometaphors in all three languages and concluded that English and Lithuanian prefer a simile over the conceptual metaphor with 53% and 58% respectively, whereas German prefers the conceptual metaphor over a simile with 92%. The most popular animal categories in all three languages are Livestock/Fowl, Canidae and Birds.

Further research

The next step in this research is to add Russian and Polish corpora to the current study and compare the results not only between all 5 languages, but also between the Germanic and Balto-Slavic language families. Over the next few years I am planning to gather the necessary corpus for this study.

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